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THE
MYSTERIES OF THE VATICAN.

THE
MYSTERIES OF THE VATICAN:

OR,
CRIMES OF THE PAPACY.

FROM THE GERMAN OF DR. THEODOR GRIESINGER.

TRANSLATED BY

E. S.

"Ed or discerno perchè dal retaggio
Li figli de Levì furono essenti."

DANTE, canto xvi., del Purgatorio

"Ahi, Costantin, di quanto mal fu matre
Non la tua conversion, ma quella dote,
Che da te prese il primo ricco Patre!"

Canto xix., del' Inferno.

"And now do I perceive why Levi's sons
Received no part in Canaan's portioned land."

"How vast the evil wrought, oh, Constantine,
Not thy conversion, but the fatal dower
That from thy hand the first rich Patre took!"

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

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1864.



P R E F A C E .

To many, perhaps, my purpose in writing the following pages may seem sufficiently problematical ; some will, doubtless, question the wisdom of again stirring up the old leaven (Sauerteig) of the papacy. "Let the dead rest in peace," they may tell me—"the days of Papal dominion have long passed away—wherefore remind those who hold the dogmas of Rome of the sins and misdeeds of the earlier High-priests of their Church?"

Thus I may be met ; but I would ask, in return, "is, then, the papacy a thing of the past merely? Rather, has it not, within the last ten years, shown renewed vitality, whilst it has employed all the means at its disposal in an attempt to conjure back to earth the darkness of the mediæval ages? During this very decade, has not all been done that priestly influence could effect to restore the ancient prestige of priestly rule? This triumph, too, has been secured : that, in certain circles, those who dare characterise priestly assumptions and ultramontane intolerance in fitting terms, are denounced

as enemies of the Church, and thus, by a studied confusion of ideas, the opponent of Rome is condemned as a foe to religion.

“Ultramontanism,” therefore, is not dead, nor the old thirst of the papacy for despotic power. The various concordates, secured or proposed, within these latter years are alone sufficient proof of this; but proof still more emphatic is offered by the conduct of the clergy in those countries where a concordate is in operation. There, Rome puts forth no hesitating *feelers* (Fühlhörner) merely, but talons rather of Gregorian development. Was it not, then, full time to utter our protest in the face of day, and do what may be in our power against the monstrous abuses of the papal system?

It is from this point of view I would beg the reader to regard the present work; and though it offer little actually original except its method of arrangement, it may yet be of some interest and use, as it will furnish him with a general view of what the popes from of old did and sought to do; and “how, and by what means.”

THEODOR GRIESINGER.

STUTTGART, *September*, 1861.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

A CONCISE sketch of the principal events, and slowly developing characteristics, which mark the rise, culmination, and decline of the Papal Regnum, has long been wanting to our book shelves. The present work, which, by Dr. Theodor Griesinger's kind permission, I am now enabled to submit to English readers, will, I believe, admirably meet that want. It has no pretence to displace the more elaborate studies which in Germany and England have appeared on papal history,—but to offer those who care not to enter on an extended investigation of the influences which successively created and deified the tiara, a clear conception how those influences were utilised to the result obtained.

Commencing with St. Peter, whose sojourn in Rome

Dr. Griesinger, with most modern critics, holds highly problematical, he paints the forlorn condition of the first Christians in the eternal city, where, in honour of the gods of Latium, Christian blood flowed as water, or as it has since flowed to the cry of "heresy!"

He shows us the rapid corruption of the church under imperial adoption,—the awakening lust of power in the episcopal breast; and how, under Constantine, Clovis, the Valois, the Hapsburgs, the modern Bourbons,—monarchical and priestly unrighteousness have gone hand in hand; and the "*in hoc signo vinces*" has been interpreted by succeeding despots as meaning the cross of St. Peter over the Vatican. He displays the many aspects under which papal greed was successively disguised, though so thin was the veil sometimes it could never have outlasted, but for the vast army of priestly sycophants so deeply interested in its preservation.

Of papal licentiousness, our author has not dared say all he could have said, nor have I in every instance given the full force of his words. In truth, he smites and spares not, believing, that as it is just and noble to pardon the vanquished, it is yet incumbent on us to know no flinching whilst the foe still retains any power of wrong doing, "for we are not altogether here to tolerate! We are here to resist and vanquish withal.

* * * We are here to extinguish falsehoods, and put an end to them in some wise way." With a broad impartiality he studiously separates the better development of catholicism to be still found distinct from the pretensions of the pope. The distinction may scarcely seem to imply a difference to many of us, accustomed as we are to the ultramontane tone of the English Roman Catholic press; but to those who have seen the growing feeling of honest irritation at the worn-out assumptions of Romish supremacy, grown so widely prevalent within the last few years among the secular priesthood and middle and lower class laity on the continent, the distinction will readily be appreciable.

From personal observation, during a prolonged residence in Germany, I am convinced the downfall of the temporal power of Rome, or even of papal spiritual supremacy, would create there scarce more concern than of old in our England under the second Tudor. Doubtless, the historical classes—royal, baronial, and monastic—would presage therein the coming end of all things; but the more intelligent majority of the town population, and nearly every member of the lower clergy, would heartily welcome the change. The latter are growing ever more impatient at the constant foreign supervision to which they are subjected, and chafe at

pontifical briefs which, not content with setting forth now and again some new dogma which the trans-Alpine mind is little disposed to accept, descend to the regulation of the pettiest details of priestly life.*

That our author's fears, from the recovered vitality of Rome, are well founded, many may question, as he himself suggests; but whilst constantly new mediævalists amongst us, whose logical faculties have been overgrown by the fantastical imaginative, continue to abandon the faith of Luther and St. Paul for that of Loyola and the holy Januarius, it is not well to neglect and weary of warning, nor gloze over the iniquities of

"colei, che siède sovra acqua,
Puttanegiar coi regi."†

* To cite but one case in point, which I must quote from memory:—In the spring of 1863 Bavaria was startled and amused by a letter in the public press from the papal nuncio here, Cardinal Gonella, in which His Eminence stated: "It had come to the ears of the Holy Father in Rome that certain priests, under the influence of the dire modern spirit of innovation, now suffered their whiskers to grow on cheeks and chin, and in some instances cut not the hair of the head in the prescribed manner. In these evil days, when reverence for holy things groweth ever weaker, it is incumbent to avoid all such unaccustomed modes, fraught as they may be with the most serious perils; therefore, the Holy Father directeth that the like new modes shall be henceforth discontinued, under pain," &c., &c.

† Cited from the Apocalypse, verses 1 and 2, chapter xvii., in Canto xix., *dell Inferno*.

as, anticipating the denunciations of the Reformers, the great Ghibelline poet entitled papal Rome.

The English reader will especially appreciate the testimony Dr. Griesinger bears to the determined resistance offered again and again by our countrymen to the encroachments of Rome ; his sympathy with the liberal cause in Italy ;—his ready meed of praise to the efforts of Italian patriotism ;—detestation of tyranny, whether monarchical or theocratic, and still more, perhaps, the absence from his pages of any trace of that “Neo theology” so strangely prevalent in modern criticism : such characteristics cannot fail the more readily to naturalise his present work among ourselves, imparting as they do to his pictures that thorough vitality which honest human love for the right, and hate of the wrong, never fail to give.

I may add, that in translating the “Mysteries of the Vatican,” I have endeavoured to truly reproduce the idiosyncracies of the original work, though venturing in a few instances to slightly condense the text. An analytical index, affixed to this edition, may facilitate its use for reference. Though I have too long detained the reader, I shall, perhaps, best justify my exordium by closing it with those famous lines of the “Divina Co-

•

media," which offer so apt an epitome of the "Mysteries of the Vatican :"

" Che la mala condotta
'E la cagion, che'l mondo ha fatto reo.
'E non natura, che'n voi sia corotta.
Soleva Roma, che 'l buon mondo feo,
Duo Soli aver, che l'una è l'altra strada
Facean vedere, e del mondo, e di Deo.
L'un l'altro ha spento, ed è giunta la spada.
Col pastorale, e l'uno e l'altro insieme,
Per viva forza mal convien che vada :
Perocchè giunti, l'un l'altro non teme.
Se non mi credi, pon mente alla spiga :
Ch'ogni erba si conosce per lo seme." *

E. S.

MUNICH, *July*, 1864.

* "Not Nature's faults,
But evil guidance, hath the world corrupted.
When Rome, God's new evangel, taught the world,
Rome held two suns, which o'er life's two-fold path :
This for our world's,—that for God's service,—shone.
But one sank quenched in the other's blaze,
And sword and bishop's staff conjoined were
Within the self-same hand. That union,
By lawless force achieved, could bode but ill :
For each, by turns, the other's minion grew.
Judge for thyself, an thou misdoubtest me :
By its own fruit thou shalt condemn the tree."

DANTE, *Purgatorio*, Canto xvi.

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BOOK I.

POPE AND POVERTY.

“Wo Geiz ist und Gier nach fremd Geld und Gut,
Da der Betrug auch nicht ausbleiben thut.
Darauf der diebisch Teufel sich nicht saumt,
Sein Ross hat er bald aufgezaumt;
Den Wucher hat er in seinem nächsten Gefolg,
Und selbst Mord scheut er nicht fürs Gold.”
Aus dem Buch “Von den Zehn Teufeln.”

“Where Greed and Lust for others' gear doth hide,
Guile too will fail not to abide.
The thievish Fiend bridles his nag straightway,
And thither hastens quickly as he may;
Foul Usury with his best loved minions goes,—
Murder he welcomes, so she gold bestows.”

MYSTERIES OF THE VATICAN.

CHAPTER I.

EPISCOPACY IN THE PRIMITIVE CENTURIES. THE VATICAN.

THE social organisation of the primitive Christian communities was of the very simplest character, in accordance with the spirit impressed on them by the Founder of Christianity. At Christ's coming the various creeds professed by men—Judaism especially, had long since lapsed into mere ceremonial—the observance of external forms and sacrifices, from which spiritual sense and feeling were totally gone. Christ denounced this ceremonial worship, teaching that not the outward fulfilment of the law constituted religion, but the inward devotion of the heart—the praying to God in spirit and in truth. He denounced the dogmas of the priests, which prescribed blind submission to the dead letter

of the Scriptures, and proclaimed that love, humility, and long suffering, could alone reconcile humanity to heaven.

This spirit of love, humility, and long suffering, still lingered in the scattered communities founded by the apostles and disciples of Christ. None of the new converts were exalted above the others, none could claim precedence of their brethren—the object of all was to manifest—greater love—greater humility. All were equal, with equal rights and equal duties. The very apostles did not place themselves above their fellow believers, they did but labour with higher zeal, and self-devoting energy, seeking their sole distinction in the services and sacrifices they rendered to the new gospel.

As in individual churches, each member of the flock enjoyed perfect spiritual equality with the rest; the churches collectively pretended to no precedence or official superiority one over the other. Their only distinction, that one might boast a greater number of, or more wealthy members, or possibly was situated in a district less exposed to the stern honours* of martyrdom.

Each church had the same privileges, the same duties as every other, and the like rule held good with each individual believer. Order was not less well maintained, and the affairs of the Communities, their government and administration, so to speak, suffered nothing from this freedom and equality. The members of each provided for the management of its collective interests, by

* The early Christians were especially liable to persecution through the influence of the Jews, who denounced them to the Roman authorities as an heretical Jewish sect, of subversive political tendencies.

appointing a president and subordinate officials, in whose hands was placed the responsibility of the general management, and thus a system of ecclesiastical government was established, though a purely voluntary one. The president, after the manner of the Jewish synagogue, was entitled Elder, or Presbyter; sometimes Episcopus (bishop—overlooker), simply because he had the overlooking of the general welfare of the community.

The elders or presbyters were assisted by deacons or almoners, who acted as treasurers to their respective communities.* Other officers there were none, nor were there any stated preachers or exponents of the new law, every Christian in their almost nightly gatherings was entitled to preach and pray according to his conscience and ability. Even women were not excepted, and traditions still remain of the pious results which crowned the labours of many among them. We can readily understand that the possession of exceptional spiritual gifts, or the previous exhibition of peculiar zeal, would be sought in those entrusted with the representative office of bishop or presbyter, and that men so distinguished would inevitably become the spiritual guides of their brethren. In time the custom became generally established, that none were appointed to the highest charge in the church, who did not possess the power of adequately expounding its doctrines; though

* The treasurer had little else to do than receive the alms of the richer members for distribution among the poorer brethren, the amount in each case being regulated by the possessions of the giver. Thus was equality practically established, though it never merged into communism, as the alms were voluntarily bestowed.

others, more or less gifted, might still preach and teach as before, and the presbyter was unendowed with any official prerogatives.

Such was the constitution of the Christian churches in the time of the apostles, and far into the second century of our era. In the third century, when believers amounted to many hundred thousand, this basis was little modified, though several of the larger communities had necessarily risen in individual importance. These were the mother churches from which Christianity had been carried into the surrounding districts. Their spiritual colonies, like those bound by merely temporal ties, naturally regarded the parent community with peculiar respect and love, sought thence teachers and preachers, and were happy whilst actually independent, to assume a dependent relationship towards it. Thus, if we may use the modern words, "parishes" or "dioceses" grew up around each spiritual nucleus, whilst the dignity of the latter rose in proportion to that of the province or city in which it was placed. If such a Church had been founded by the personal labours of one of the apostles, thus obtaining the New Law close to its fountain head, its credit was so much the more enhanced, and from every side contested points of doctrine or discipline was submitted to its decision, the disputants thus hoping to learn how the apostle would have decided in this or that issue. Yet this authority was founded merely on voluntary respect, not claimed or accorded as a dogmatic right. The only bond of union which united all, was a like faith, hope, love.

As with the Churches, so with the presidents of the

Churches. If the members greatly increased, a single deacon, still more a single presbyter, soon proved quite insufficient. With added numbers duties were multiplied, and several presbyters, several deacons, had in such cases to be appointed. These collectively formed a council or collegium, and were necessarily obliged to choose one of their number to preside at their deliberations.

The most able and respected of the body was generally chosen for this post of President or Chief Elder ; and to distinguish him from his brother presbyters, the distinctive title of *Episcopus*, now generally used, which, though it in nowise invested the bearer with any peculiar power or individual prerogative, served to mark his relative position towards his colleagues.

Such was the internal polity of the Christian church during the first two centuries,—in those centuries, indeed, when it was still unrecognised by the State, and the rich and powerful held back from baptism as from something vulgar and unseemly.

But our present business is with Rome ; it is to see there amid the ruins of a bygone world,—triumphant evidence of the vast change time and cunning have effected, in a Church whose simplicity was of old its most marked characteristic.

We all know St. Paul established a community of Christians at Rome, during his two years' residence at the capital. Its "chief elder" was soon honoured with the title of "*episcopus*," and the provincial communities learned to regard him with peculiar reverence. The story of the persecutions under Nero, Caligula, and

their successors, is familiar to all,—those terrible days, when, after the Christian fraternity had been ruthlessly decimated, those still left were but too glad to seek temporary safety in the dark recesses of the catacombs.*

And we may well believe, that he who should accept so perilous an honour as episcopal duties in the capital of the Cæsars, must have far more highly prized the service of the faith than his own temporal happiness or well-being. The earlier Roman bishops were indeed poor and unpretending, though pious and self-devoted men; not even possessing any appointed temple where their flocks might meet to worship.† How often, indeed, they knew not where to lay their heads, when the sanguinary decrees of the emperors went forth against the worshippers of the Nazarene. Nearly all died a martyr's death, and still receive the honours accorded by the Catholic church to those who die for her faith.‡

* The catacombs are great but irregular excavations, extending under the greater part of Rome. They originated in vast gravel pits and stone quarries, are all interconnected; but as the earth has caved in, in many places are no longer open through their full length. It is, however, asserted, they are fifteen miles in length, and extend as far as Ostia. They can be entered at several points; generally, the openings are placed beneath a church. There are a good many chapels within them, containing the bones of early martyrs. In earlier ages, the catacombs provided the natural refuge for the Christians during the persecutions, and thither they carried the bodies of those sacrificed for the faith, to raise there lasting memorials of their devotion. In all, about 174,000 persons have been buried within them, fourteen Roman bishops among the number.

† The first church, or basilica rather, built in Rome, was that erected in the reign of Constantine; smaller ones already existed in various provinces of the empire, as early as the time of Diocletian.

‡ As saints Anaclet, Sixtus, Victor Calixtus, &c., &c.

All this needs no recapitulation here. We turn from the ruined Coliseum, where Christian massacre offered a specific for imperial ennui, to the proud dwelling of Rome's later masters,—to the Vatican, to the huge Colossus that frowns down, dark and menacing, like some uncouth stone thunder-god, whose head is hidden by the clouds, whose rock-feet threaten to crush the rock upholding it. The Vatican, the possession of those who have succeeded the humble chief elders of whom we have just spoken. The Vatican, the royal residence of Christ's viceregents,—so long sole arbiters of thought and creed throughout all Christendom; the dread potentates, whose sceptre reaches over heaven, purgatory, hell. The Vatican, that covers a space 15,000 feet in length, 800 in breadth; which includes within its walls twenty courts, two hundred stairs, eleven thousand halls of ceremony and smaller apartments, whose erection has cost countless millions.

What a strange, nay, inconceivable change, between the past and present! On the one side, we behold the gentle, yet high-souled martyrs of the first three centuries; on the other, the lords of this palace unequalled in riches and magnificence by any on earth! Its mere outward aspect astounds and bewilders us; but we must see more. We must enter within its charmed portals, until, as in a dream, thou criest, "A miracle, a miracle!" We pass through the colonnade round the Piazza San Pietro, and reach a vestibule, where stands the equestrian statue of the first Christian emperor; then, by the grand Bernini Scala, fitted, indeed, it seems for some luxurious monarch, with his gay train of rustling cour-

tiers and fair dames to pass down for their daily sports to the "Sala-regia;" royal, indeed, in its splendour and vastness,—a marble floor, ceiling fretted with delicate intaglio, and superb pictures covering the walls. Ah! the popes loved the refining influences of art! and the subjects here how aptly chosen for the dwelling of a Christian priest: battle, ban, and foul assassination,—“Lepanto, Gregory excommunicating the emperor Frederic, and the murder of the white-haired Coligny.

We pass from the Sala Regia into the “Sistina,” the matchless chapel, built by Sixtus V., and stand in silent awe before the dark menacing forms of the Last Judgment of Michael Angelo, as they loom down through the incense-loaded air, in strange contrast with the rustling silk, the gold-broidered, jewelled vestments of the ministering priests. Listen! the papal choir is singing the “miserere;” listen! for nowhere else on earth can those marvellous strains be heard as they are here. The passionate cry of human misery and abasement mounts higher and higher, filling the vaulted roof; but the painted “prophets” and “sibyls” are not less deaf to its meaning than the living wearers of those bright scarlet robes who hear nothing but a more or less excellent sopranist or laudible baritone.

The Sala Regia gives access, also, to the Pauline chapel. Michael Angelo’s famous pictures, the Conversion of St. Paul and Crucifixion of St. Peter, are both there. In the “Paulina,” the popes celebrate several of the chief festivals of the church; and there the representation of Christ’s entombment is enacted with peculiar solemnity; whilst around the holy sepulchre

thousands of lamps and wax tapers, making a very fairy-land of light and splendour. Close at hand stands the Sala Ducale, with its mighty vault, covered with superb paintings by the hand of Rafaellino, Matteo da Sieno, Lorenzenio,—others, too many to recapitulate. On Maunday Thursday here it is the Pope, surrounded by the dignitaries of his church, washes the feet of the twelve old men, typical of the apostles! Near are the “Paramente,” where the Pope robes before being carried on men’s shoulders in his throne chair to sing high mass at St. Peter’s. These chapels and halls occupy one wing of the Vatican, the wing adorned with the four famous loggie which encircle it row above row. In plan and decoration these grand arcades are alike remarkable: originating with Giulio da Majano, they were subsequently rebuilt after designs by the prince of painters, Raphael. But the arcades of the second story, the “Loggia di Raffaele” is the loggia par excellence of the great Florentine, containing as it does two hundred and fifty pictures bearing his name. The first and fourth loggia boast many beautiful pictures, whilst the third has its walls covered with curious maps dating from 1572 to 1583, drawn by the learned Dominican, Ignatio Dante.

We enter the “New Palace,” still in the Vatican, but another wing, looking towards the Piazza Vaticano. Here are the private apartments of His Holiness, the offices of the Cardinal Secretary of State, and other government bureaux. Elegant salons, luxurious cabinets, grand halls,—we pass through them all in rapid, bewildering succession; they are too many that we can mark them,—only lingering a moment to gaze on the

frescoes in the Sala San Clemente, or glance at the pictures we are told represent the life of the fond countess Mathilda,—Pope Gregory's "friend." Then, passing through the apartments of Pope Nicholas V., we reach the four vast halls, the Stanze of Raphael, and for a moment forget the popes and Vatican alike, before the glories of that art the successors of St. Peter have so well made subserve their purposes.

The Stanze are Raphael's master work. The very manner of their origin is sufficiently remarkable. Pope Sixtus had the four walls built and adorned by the greatest artist of his time; then Julius II. summoned Raphael to Rome, and commissioned him to paint the Controversy on the Sacrament, for one of them. Raphael produced the "Disputa," and it so delighted Julius he at once ordered all the other pictures to be effaced, and walls and ceiling re-adorned from Raphael's designs alone. The first Stanza is illustrated with the life and conversion of the Emperor Constantine; the second Stanza has the unequalled Heliodorus; the third, the School of Athens; and the fourth, "Stanza del incendio del Borgo Vecchio," takes its name from the fresco representing a burning suburb, miraculously saved by the interposition of Pope Leo IV. We cannot attempt to enumerate the multitude of other works here by Raphael and his pupils,—they would far exceed our space. We traverse the apartments of Nicholas V. to enter those of Pius V., containing the largest of all the picture galleries within the Vatican. Here, then, we must pause; here await us the "most" famous works of the most famous masters; and though other collections may be more nu-

merous, none in the whole world can equal this, in the value of its treasures. Here, is the famous "Christ," of Correggio, "sitting between angels;" Guercino's "Magdalene;" "St. Hieronimus" of Domenichino; the "Crucifixion of St. Peter," by Guido; "Christ's Sepulture," by Caravaggio; "St. Helena," by Paul Veronese; others—it is needless to enumerate them—by Titian, Fiesole, Perugino, Raphael. If to this gallery we add the other paintings gathered within the Vatican, neither the collections made by English wealth, French kings, or Russian czars, would reach a tithe of the worth of all that is here gathered.

Yet the measure of our wonder is not yet full. Still we have to see the world-renowned Museo Vaticano, the value of whose sculptures could be told only by millions. First, the magnificent "Gallery of vases and candelabra." Rich marble columns support the vaulted roof of its six compartments. Within it stand the world-famous Niobe, the Diana, the Clytemnestra, &c.; fauns, sileni, Egyptian monuments, &c., &c. Then follows the Sala of the Ear, occupied by an antique chariot with marble horses, and the eight famous statues, the Apollo, Bacchus, Perseus, Alcibiades, &c., &c., &c. Then the Sala of the Etruscan Museum; then the Sala of the Muses; then the Statue Gallery, formerly the palace of Innocent VIII., and comprising—the Sala of the Masks, —the cabinet of the Laocoon,—that of Apollo Belvedere,—that of Perseus, of Mercury, the Egyptian Museum, the Museum of Antiquities, the Chiaremonte Museum; and finally, the great Gregorian Museum.

For long, long hours, we are surrounded by an ever-

changing, exhaustless panorama, and turn at length away well nigh dazzled and overpowered with the wealth and the wonders scattered round.

Yet our task must be fulfilled, and we enter the Vatican library. It is no unworthy rival even of those museums we have just hurried through. Originated by Pope Hilarius, anno 465, with a collection of manuscripts, it was removed to the Vatican by Sixtus V., a new wing having been built for its reception ; and many and rapid were the additions made to this large nucleus ; for Rome enjoyed resources not granted to other lands. No less than six great libraries were absorbed. Among them, the famous collection of Heidelberg,* given to the popes by the Elector of Bavaria, 1623 ; that of Alessandrina,† by Christina of Sweden, 1690 ; the Urbino, by the Dukes of Urbino, &c., &c. The Vatican library is the largest in the world, though its greatest riches consists in rare manuscripts. Among the more precious, we may enumerate a copy of the *Divina Commedia*, transcribed by Boccaccio ; the breviary of King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary ; the most ancient copy of Terence ; seventeen original letters from Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn, and many of Luther's writings in autograph.

It numbers 22,277 printed books ; of which 18,108 are Latin, 3469 in Greek, 1466 in Asiatic tongues, and 851 in African.

* Tilly had seized it for his master, Maximilian of Bavaria, who gave it to the Pope.

† This "book oblation" had been collected by the strong hand of Gustavus Adolphus, during the Thirty Years' War ; and his daughter, on reconciliation to Rome, offered it to Alexander VIII., as some expiation of her father's "misdeeds."

Still in the Vatican, still more museums: museum of orthodox antiquities, bishops' crosiers from the primitive centuries of our era, instruments of torture used for the martyrdom of Christians under Roman emperors, the most ancient portrait of Christ extant, &c., &c.; then, the Profane Museum offers its prodigious gathering of idols in gold, silver, bronze, stone, &c., &c.; weapons, tools, mosaics, &c., &c. But we at length reach the last museum, —and then? No, the Vatican is not exhausted; though we cannot attempt to see it all, we must glance ere we depart at the famous "Borgia apartment" built by Alexander VI., and for ever associated with the crimes and orgies of his reign. Modest as is the title, we enter a veritable palatial residence; halls, salons, chambers, numberless, with walls and ceilings covered with the labours of the most famous artists of their day. The furniture has been quite changed since the time of the Borgias, when the luxury and splendour lavished here might vainly have been sought in the zenanas of the most voluptuous oriental monarch. We hurry on through all the remaining grandeurs, and feel relieved to stand once more in the free air of heaven. We have seen the Vatican;* have seen what fabulous sums may well have been

* We must add a few words on the origin and history of the Vatican. Constantine erected a residence on its site for Bishop Sylvester who had baptized him, and later bishops, especially Liberius and Symachus, enlarged it in proportion to their increased wealth. Towards the close of the eighth century the Vatican had become so great that the Emperor Charlemagne found accommodation in it for all his suite when he visited Rome for coronation. It was still largely added to subsequently, one wing was built after another; the work went on with the greatest energy under Gregory IV., Sixtus IV., Alexander VI., Paul III., Clement XIV., and Pius VI.

needed to unite beneath one roof treasures equal to an empire's ransom ; and marvellous indeed it seems how the successors of the scorned and persecuted chief elders of ancient Rome have developed into the lords of such a superfluity of wealth, the possessors of this wondrous palace. Yet have we seen but a moiety of the magnificent possessions of the High Priests of Rome. In the Piazza Vaticano have we not the Duomo San Pietro before us, the largest and the costliest temple in the world ! we all know how not only the Santa Sophia of Constantinople but even St. Paul's of London might stand beneath its vast arched roof. It had cost, by the accounts kept in St. Peter's chancery, up to the commencement of the last century, upwards of 46,800,498 gold florins. Eight million five hundred thousand pounds of our money, though this does not represent the comparative value bestowed by the successors of the "scorned and persecuted chief elders and martyrs" on one church alone, and there are three hundred and eleven other churches in this priestly city of the priests, a third part of which have been erected at the papal cost, whilst the same inexhaustible treasury contributed largely to the others. Are not these things proofs sufficient of the fabulous revenues of the "heirs of the martyrs." But if evidence be still wanting, we find it triumphantly awaiting us in the Quirinal, the Summer house of Pleasaunce of the popes. No simple retreat for tranquil ecclesiastical summer retirement, with its fifteen or twenty unpretending chambers. One wing alone, that towards the Porta Pia, is three hundred paces in length ; the Imperial Palace in Vienna numbers

scarcely half the halls and chambers contained in the papal summer palace! Of these we need but recall the Sala Regia, the Sala d'Audienza, the Sala del Congregazione. Let us not forget the magnificent park behind with its statues and fountains, and graceful pavilion, in whose discreet chambers the popes were wont to receive fair dames who sought audience of their holinesses. Besides the Quirinal, there remains a third palace, belonging to the heirs of Poverty, the famous Lateran, now devoted to the Museo Laterano. It existed as early as the sixth century, and was used by the popes both before and after the Avignon exile, until it grew too small for the requirements of its masters; it was then rebuilt by Sixtus V., and nothing now remains of the original structure but the Nicholine chapel, with its fifty-five twisted columns. This chapel contains that invaluable relic! the so-called Scala Santa, the marble stairs by which Christ is said to have ascended to Pilate's Judgment Hall.

Palaces, museums, churches, chapels, all these we have seen, yet one of the most important, the most prized of all the papal possessions in the Eternal city, has been left unnoted—the Castle of Angelo, one of the strongest citadels in the world, to which access is obtained by a private subterranean passage from the Vatican. From the beginning the subjects of the pope have proved very refractory vassals, and carnal weapons, and stout stone walls have been necessary to preserve the spiritual throne. The successors of St. Peter needed a citadel; Hadrian's vast monument and tomb admirably met their requirements, so they dispossessed the

♣ dead emperor, and fortified his mausoleum with all requisite outworks.*

Half the revenues of the world must have been required to collect all the splendours and rarities gathered in episcopal Rome. Yet we have left unmarked Michael Angelo's New Capitol, built under the pontificates of Paul III. and Boniface IX., and to which the wing was subsequently added which now contains the Museo Capitolino and picture gallery, both scarcely exceeded in interest and riches by any of those in Rome. We may not dimly imagine the treasure they represent, when the catalogue of the antiquities alone occupies four massive folio volumes.

But enough! Proof, indeed, we have sufficient of the boundless wealth of those who have inherited the duties of the first Roman bishops. Our next task is the investigation of the manner in which this wealth was obtained.

* Hadrian's monument was completed anno 140, by the Emperor Antoninus, and was well worthy an emperor's memory. The interior was 150 feet in height, by 575 in circuit. The sarcophagus chamber was 24 feet long by 24 broad, and 32 high. The exterior was adorned with marble statues and columns. The transformation of the mausoleum into a fortress was early achieved; but in the frequent wars between the popes and their subjects, and both with the French and Spaniards, Saint Angelo was often sorely tried, and was even on several occasions almost destroyed. It has existed in its present form since the days of Boniface IX. and Urban VIII.

CHAPTER II.

BEGINNING OF PAPAL WEALTH—LEGACIES—INHERITANCE-HUNTING.

THE earlier bishops, even of the most important cities, were, as we have seen, but simple chief elders, having no distinctive privileges through their office,—for which they were alone indebted to their own more ardent devotion, which marked them out from among their fellow-believers. But men remain men merely despite the sublimest creeds. So it came to pass that when certain bishops for their individual piety were held in especial reverence by their flocks, many of their colleagues claimed the same honour as properly due to the episcopal office itself, not merely to the private virtues of the holder. When once this pretension became recognised, the official prerogatives of the bishops were soon established, and all spiritual equality among the members of the new faith was at an end.

It happened inevitably, even in the earliest Christian societies, sparsely scattered as they were through the world, that various differences of opinion in points of belief and discipline should grow up among them. To obviate the danger and disadvantage of this, synods

were instituted, at which, as it was impossible for all the members of the several churches to attend, their delegates held counsel, and, if possible, harmonised their differences, and kept their orthodoxy pure. The bishop or presbyter was usually chosen for this office; both as the man of most esteem in his church, and as best qualified in the knowledge of its customs and traditions. The honour voluntarily bestowed was soon assumed as a right; the synods fell completely under episcopal influence; their decisions were absolute, and without appeal for the communities represented; and the whole conduct of church affairs was engrossed by the bishops.

The primitive churches were zealously solicitous to retain no member whose piety was questionable, or whose conduct might bring scandal on the faith. Expulsion in such cases had originally been solemnly pronounced in a general meeting, where each member of the community voted. But as the members fast increased in number, it was soon impracticable for all to attend at such deliberations, which were transferred to the College of Presbyters, who, under the presidency of the bishop,* pronounced judgment on the offender. As soon as this first step was well secured, the bishop next renounced any further counsels from his colleagues, the presbyters, in the matter, declaring the right of expulsion (or excommunication) was vested in his office alone.

When the nucleus of a Christian community had

* We have before seen the bishops in this case were only called so to distinguish them from their brother presbyters, from whom they had been chosen to preside at the synodal councils.

been secured by one of the apostles, and its presbyter chosen, the apostle exhorted him to the pious discharge of his duties, and, after entreating God's support, laid his hands on the new teacher's head, to invoke a blessing on his labours. Bishops and chief elders followed the apostolic custom, claiming for it no mere typical meaning, however, but the actual descent of the Holy Ghost upon the person so ordained, sanctifying, and setting him apart from other men. Thus came the distinction between "clergy and laity*" into existence; thus was the idea of a Christian priesthood developed, and the more ambitious of its order soon gave their best endeavours to secure it a still greater breadth of development, adopting the pretensions of the Jewish rabbis, and all the privileges accorded by the Mosaic law to the sons of Levi. These assumptions remained of little importance whilst Christianity was still unrecognised by the Roman emperors.

Though here and there an ambitious priest might gain a brief notoriety, his pretensions, unsupported by any external power, were doomed to collapse, and die with him. But the moment of a great change was at hand. Constantine, the emperor,† was to be baptized

* "Clergy and laity;" both words are derived from the Greek, *laos*, common people; *kleros*, portion, or inheritance. The presbyters and bishops of the third century made especial claim to be God's peculiar portion (or priesthood), adopted a distinctive dress, generally a white stole, like that worn by Catholic choristers. Soon claiming peculiar exclusiveness, they demanded a reserved place in the churches, renounced all worldly trades and callings, and so were consolidated into a distinct caste.

† When Constantine was proclaimed emperor by the army in Britain (anno 306), the rival claimants to the purple, Galerius and Max-

by the hand of Sylvester, the head of the Roman church, and one of the most important revolutions in the world's history was effected by that typical sacrament. The days at last arrived when the harvest of power and wealth, long fondly dreamed of by many a bishop and presbyter, was to be triumphantly gathered in.

Already the chief elder of the Roman church had been regarded with great respect by the provincial communities, most of which dated their origin from Rome. Moreover, his church claimed especial dignity as of apostolic foundation, and that dignity was further enhanced by Rome's position as the metropolis of the civilized world. The assistance and counsel of the bishop of Rome was constantly sought in the neighbouring dioceses, or, when their spiritual chiefs met in synod, precedence was willingly yielded to him as the chief among his brethren. Any material advantage did not however result, until Constantine gave state support

entius, greatly endangered his rising fortunes. Happily, Galerius soon died; but Maxentius remained a very redoubtable opponent, holding, as he did, Rome, all Italy, and the East. Constantine managed however to secure the goodwill of the very numerous body of Christians throughout Italy, the priests giving their best influence in his favour. He crossed the Alps, defeated Maxentius, anno 312. During the battle the flaming cross and its inscription, "In hoc signo vinces," appeared in the heavens, and thenceforth Constantine bore on his banners the symbol of Christianity. The assistance of the Christians also secured the defeat of his later rival, Licinius.

Religion had but little part in the emperor's conversion, though his superstition might fear the consequence of the crimes he had committed. These crimes are too well known that we need delay to enumerate them; the murder of his wife and son will be in every reader's memory. But Constantine found piety an admirable political tool.—*See Burchard's "Times of Constantine the Great."*

to Christianity. When the emperor allowed churches to be built, and granted privileges and lands to the bishops for the maintenance of the faith and its ministers, it is not strange that the bishop of Rome, whose hands had baptized the Cæsar, should secure as many favours as possible for his own see.

Bishop Sylvester, by the tact with which he managed his imperial convert, shortly procured not only a palace, to be constituted the episcopal residence in Rome, but the greater part of the money necessary for erecting a church there.

Gifts and legacies to the favoured religion received legal sanction ; nor did the bishop hesitate to avail himself of it. Courtly example and expediency made the number of aspirants for baptism so great that Sylvester, his presbyters and deacons, could no longer keep pace with their accumulating duties, and he was obliged to increase the number of his first fellow labourers. His influence in Rome grew ever more powerful ; donations to the church became the fashionable rage ; and he, like his successors, found no little advantage in surrounding the young church with comely and eloquent exponents of its doctrines.

This policy, within twenty or thirty years, gave "father" Hieronimus occasion to write :—" The priests in Rome, who should command the reverence of women by their dignity and earnestness, now salute them with the kiss of fraternity in the very churches ; yea, they stretch out their hands as it were to bestow benediction, but forsooth it is rather to receive the offerings of their flock." Other writers tell us, " the Roman clergy make it their especial business to be duly informed of any noble ladies, widows

especially, who may be accessible to "pious influences."* "Such ladies would then receive no lack of ecclesiastical visitors; and if one of the good fathers greatly admired any of the household appurtenances or pretty jewels of the mistress, what could she do but beg him to accept, in the name of the faith, the trifle which had found favour in his eyes."

If any showed unwillingness to part with their gear, the example of the more devout was preached to them, till for very shame they yielded. No Christian, rich in worldly goods, was suffered to die in peace at Rome unless the church, or rather the bishop and his priests, were well remembered in his will. Even the property of orphans was tampered with, until so notorious did the scandal become, that the Emperor Valentinian I. (anno 364) was obliged to enact severe laws against it. Damasus, bishop of Rome, was ordered to prohibit his clergy from receiving any gifts from those female penitents with whom they had passed from "the spiritual relationship to one founded on earthly love;" and, further: these "shameless priests" should be driven, with force, if needful, from the houses of the "infatuated" women who would rob their own children to enrich the bishops and their ecclesiastics. So few years it had needed to bring such great abuses into existence!

Offerings still poured in, despite imperial decrees; and by the latter half of the fourth century, scarce sixty years since the death of Constantine, the bishop of Rome lived in a dignity and pomp much more befitting a

* Rome then contained more than a million inhabitants, so that occult sources of intelligence was necessary to keep the priests informed of the private affairs of the faithful.

wealthy and luxurious earthly potentate than a spiritual teacher and shepherd of souls. The choicest viands, the richest vestments, the rarest steeds for their chariots, a crowd of servile attendants to do their bidding ;—a bishop's staff summoned all these things into existence for the holder, whose court almost vied with that of the emperor's own. We can scarcely feel surprised when the governor of Rome, who was still attached to the old faith, replied, when his conversion was attempted, "Make me bishop of Rome,—I'll turn Christian directly." Contemporary writers declare this wealth had been procured, with little exception, through the devout offerings of the noble dames of Rome.* Therein lay the vital germ of papal wealth. The Roman bishops enriched themselves at the cost of right and justice, by the hands of their female penitents, who, amid the luxury and immorality of the fast-collapsing Western Empire, had often a heavy list of sins to atone, and were but too ready to make their peace with heaven, when earth had no more pleasures to offer, by a liberal bribe to the church.

But we need not imagine the greed of the priesthood, once awakened, would remain satisfied with such poor vanities as we have enumerated, or with even solid coin. Gold and costly jewels are pleasant things ; but far more pleasant, because far more potent, are broad lands, fair cities, principalities, and royal prerogatives. We shall see how these also were at length secured.

* So says the good Hieronimus. A still more striking picture of the luxurious lives of the Roman prelates is given by Ammianus Marcellanus.

CHAPTER III.

TEMPORAL POWER OF THE PAPACY.

THE fable was once assiduously inculcated that the Emperor Constantine, in gratitude to Bishop Sylvester for baptism, bestowed upon him and his spiritual heirs all Italy and a great part of western Europe. But this assertion has long since been abandoned by the most fanatic defenders of the Pope's temporal power. Constantine and his successors held their sovereignty over Italy as jealously as any monarch in his own dominions; and regarded the bishop of Rome as a merely "spiritual," never as a temporal ruler, or as endowed with any of a temporal ruler's prerogatives.*

Constantine had, indeed, endowed the first Roman church with considerable lands, which naturally devolved to the care of the bishop.* Other churches, arising in quick emulation, were provided for in the same man-

* The reader will remember that, from the time of Constantine to the reigns of Honorius and Arcadius, the sons of Theodosius, the emperors had almost abandoned Rome, paying but four visits to it in the long interval. Milan had been, during fifty years, the seat of government of the Western empire, when Honorius, fearing the incursions of the barbarians, who had already devastated Venetia, sought the greater security offered by Ravenna.—(*Translator.*)

ner; and it became a general custom to transfer the property attached to the temples of the ancient worship to those of its purer successor. The testamentary bequests of the rich and powerful soon added to these possessions; for a wealthy penitent might in vain hope for promise of salvation until he had mollified his spiritual adviser with a satisfactory deed of endowment.

Ecclesiastical property increased so rapidly that by the fourth century at least one-third of all the soil of Italy had been absorbed into it, and the clergy were rendered independent of the other classes of the community. The bishop of Rome was much the richest among his colleagues; at the commencement of the eighth century the lands annexed to his see (the *Patrimonium* *) extended far beyond Rome, into upper and lower Italy, Sicily, Corsica; even further, to Dalmatia, Gallia, and the very coast of Africa.

Constantine and the Christian emperor who followed him made it their policy to give influence and importance to the new religion, and its ministers, the better to crush the old faith on which the rival pretenders to the purple endeavoured to strengthen their claims. Chlodwig, the Frankish king, for the same motives, upon his conversion to Christianity, presented the bishop of Rome not only with a jewelled crown worthy a mo-

* The Roman emperors entitled their private property "*patrimonium privatum*," their imperial domains "*patrimonium sacratum*." This nomenclature was followed by the Church, whose possessions were also entitled "*patrimonium*;" and as a means to distinguish them, the name of the patron saint of the particular church to which they were annexed was added. Thus the property of the Roman Church was known as the patrimony of Saint Peter.

narch's brow but with a still more acceptable offering in the form of a handsome estate. When the Christian high-priests of Rome set their desires on certain lands * neither obtainable by gift nor legacy, other means were forthcoming to secure the prize: forged wills and fraudulent title deeds were had recourse to, as the lawsuits of the time abundantly prove. Yet these acquisitions, no matter how secured, still bore the character of mere private property;† the popes could only enjoy the usufruct without any right to alienate that which was entailed to the Church, nor could they lay claim to judicial authority within them, or any of the rights of temporal sovereignty. In Italy all such rights remained

* The German emperors of the west sent at stated intervals a supreme judge to Rome to hear any complaints brought by the people. In the time of the Emperor Lothair, Abbot Ingoald, of Farsa, in Spoleto, appeared before this high authority to demand redress for the five estates Popes Hadrian and Leo had deprived his monastery of, and for which act their three successors had alike refused justice, declaring, "falsely and unjustly," that those estates "had always appertained to St. Peter's patrimonium." The judge investigated the abbot's plea in the presence of Gregory IV. and numerous bishops. His Holiness maintained the lands in question belonged to Rome, and exhibited documents in support of his assertions. Abbot Ingoald, however, produced the original deed of gift confirmed by the Lombard king. Gregory IV. boldly declared this title forged, and was ready to take an oath to that effect; but Abbot Ingoald was prepared with witnesses who could solemnly swear the monastery had previously held unquestionable possession of the property, of which Pope Hadrian had despoiled it. The supreme judge decided in favour of the monastery, and the pope lost his cause, and endeavoured in vain to recover it by a subsequent appeal to the emperor.

† Gregory I. mentions in one of his letters, the property by Marseilles produced him 400 gold florins annually, no small sum in those days. Gregory II. paid seventy pounds weight of gold ingots to the Duke of Naples for restitution of the Church property at Cumæ seized by the Longobardi.

with the Emperor ; in Gaul, the civil jurisdiction over the patrimony of St. Peter rested with the Frankish kings, as the letters of Pope Gregory the Great clearly prove.

A great change was soon to be effected, for the Roman bishops well knew how to bend to their own service all the accidents of their time. We need not recall to the reader's memory the erection of Constantinople into a rival capital by Constantine (Anno 330), the subsequent division of the imperial dominions, and the final extinction of the western empire, with the fall of Romulus Augustulus, the last emperor : these things belong to secular history, and are beyond the scope of our present work. But from thenceforth Italy was split up into petty states, and the popes gave their best endeavours that it should remain so.

Their policy, the curse of Italy, was founded from the beginning, on the idea of securing the national impotence by parcelling out the country among petty princes, whose mutual jealousy it would be easy to excite to constant feuds, and thus, amid the general disorder, insure the richer booty for the Church. Upper Italy, after being overrun by successive German hordes, was at length, in the sixth century, permanently occupied by the Longobardi, who made Pavia their seat of government. Central Italy, Naples, Calabria, and the Two Sicilies (before they fell into the hands of the Saracens) had been held by the Greek Emperor, whose generals, Belisarius and Narses, had secured them out of the general wreck of the Empire of Rome. Exarchs from Constantinople held their seat of government at Ravenna, whilst the country around (the Romagna), per-

sonally administered by them, was called the Exarchate. Rome, during the troubles of the fifth and sixth centuries, lost more than nine-tenths of its population, and never recovered its earlier importance.

The number of its inhabitants, which under the emperors of the first and second century exceeded a million, sank during this period of continual anarchy to thirty-five thousand. Duces (sub-governors) were appointed to the once metropolis of the world, and to Gaeta, Amalfi, Naples, &c., which were thence called ducate. The five maritime cities, Ancona, Siniganglia, Fano, Pesaro, and Rimini, were especially distinguished as the Pentapolis, and were administered by a lieutenant of the Exarch of Ravenna. Thus by far the greater part of the peninsula was subject to the Byzantine monarchs, for the portion held by the Lombards was comparatively of small extent. But the Eastern Empire was doomed to crumble rapidly away from the weak hands of its rulers, whose vices and crimes, with but few exceptions, were exceeded only by their incapacity. The exarchs of Ravenna, left almost without any assistance from Constantinople, found their post a most arduous one, constantly called on as they were to resist the encroachments of the Longobardi, with no other aid but that supplied by the local population and great land-owners. The bishop of Rome was, perhaps, the most important member of the latter, and therefore peculiarly interested in the preservation of this part of the Imperial domains from the spoilers of Pavia. There was another motive for his efforts: so long as Rome remained under the authority of a

governor appointed by the exarch, the bishop not only felt his own importance secured, but that he could successfully arrogate powers by no means implied by his office. The exarchs needed the support of the bishop, and the emperors were too feeble, or too far removed, to heed the encroachments by which it might be accompanied. If, on the other hand, the Lombard kings could unite all Italy under their sceptre, dependence on a sovereign so close at hand would be far more irksome than the authority of an Imperial exarch and the temporal crown already dimly visible to papal imaginations for ever impossible. The union of Italy was therefore to be prevented at any cost, and the Roman bishops proved equal to the emergency. They offered no inconsiderable aid in money; they would raise soldiers, or gladly pay the troops which the emperor should send to protect the imperial dominions. It was in this crisis Gregory the Great (590-604) so much distinguished himself; his great intellect and iron will must claim our attention in a later chapter, they were indeed employed, with mighty results for the papacy. But such services were not to be rendered without a fitting equivalent: the papacy was true to its instincts; the conditions demanded were, that the pope should be invested with the full legal jurisdiction of his landed possessions, and the right of presentation to all civil offices within the patrimonium of the Roman episcopacy formally conferred on the Roman see by the emperor. But what best aided Gregory's plans was the confidence and good will with which he had inspired the people of Rome and central Italy by his spirited opposition to the Lombards, so that they much

rather looked up to him as their ruler and defender than to either the emperor or the exarch, from whom indeed no effectual aid ever came.

Another event, productive of the best results to the Roman Church, occurred during the pontificate of Gregory II. (A.D. 715-735), the outbreak of the controversy on image worship, the famous iconoclastic heresy, which was to cost torrents of blood, and result in the final separation of Italy from the Byzantine empire.

In primitive times the bodily representation of any of the Persons of the Trinity in places of worship would have been thought scarce less than blasphemous; Gregory the Great denounced the adoration of images as a grievous sin. But the masses of the population demanded some tangible object of adoration, and found inexpressible delight in the pictures of Christ, the Virgin, the Apostles, martyrs, &c. From this sentimental satisfaction the step was a very easy one to actual worship of the symbolical image; after a time this became so general, especially in the east, that by the seventh century pictures were devoutly kissed by devotees who kneeled to pray to them, and were piously convinced of their miraculous powers. Jews and Mohammedans laughed at the fetish worship adopted into the purest of earthly creeds, but it constantly spread wider and wider, and, finally, completely infected western Christendom. It was, however, in the interest of the clergy, especially of those of the regular orders, to encourage a practice which, whilst it fostered the use of the offertory, turned the people's thoughts from inconvenient reasoning.

The new polytheism became at length so great a scandal, that it roused the Greek emperor Leo (the Isaurian), to take vigorous measures for its repression. He issued a decree, commanding the removal of all pictures from the churches throughout his empire, and immediate discontinuance of their worship. The credulous masses felt cruelly wronged, and in many places (at the instigation of the monks) even rose in open rebellion; but Leo finally carried his point, at least in Eastern Christendom. A far different result awaited his efforts in central Italy, and especially at Rome, where Gregory II. (715-730), sat in St. Peter's chair, an energetic ambitious man, for whom any means were justifiable if they promised success. When the emperor called on the exarch of Ravenna to carry out the extirpation of image worship in the Italian provinces, the pope immediately and emphatically protested against the order. The exarch instructed the governor of Rome to proceed in defiance of Gregory, but as he himself had been left without support, he was quite unable to supply his lieutenant with the means which could alone ensure obedience; and the latter, after exasperating the people in a vain attempt to put the imperial law in force, was, after a sanguinary struggle, obliged to seek safety in flight. Gregory had the more easily gained this triumph by previously securing the sympathy of the people, through his opposition to a tax lately imposed on them from Constantinople, and then by spreading a report that assassins were sent from thence by the Government to attempt his life. The enthusiasm of the Romans reached its climax on the

expulsion of the governor, and they unanimously declared Gregory their temporal, as well as their spiritual ruler.

Thus, in anno 727, the goal of the bishops' longings was reached; but the triumph was not one of unmixed satisfaction, for not only were his estates and church patrimony in southern Italy, which was still loyal to the emperor, not only were these sequestered, but a new danger presented itself. Luitprand, king of the Longobardi, a prince whose abilities equalled his daring, judging the right moment had arrived to unite all Italy beneath his crown, by driving out the feeble representatives of the Byzantine sovereignty, assembled his forces, marched on Ravenna, and made himself master of it, and five other important cities. King Luitprand affected to make common cause with the bishop of Rome; not only declaring in favour of image worship in emulation of his holiness, but presented him with a very handsome dotation,—the town of Sutri, in the province of Viterbo, and studiously treated with him as with an independent potentate. The pope, for all this fair seeming, was not deluded; he knew too well that if once the Lombards succeeded in their designs, in a brief period the bishops of Rome must bow to their authority, and acknowledge their own sovereign in the king of Italy. Gregory, therefore, had recourse to the Venetians, whose small, but independent republic, had alone in Northern Italy resisted with success the Longobard army. He obtained their solemn promise to support the exarch against this "mad horde of Longobardi;" and then contrived to foment a revolt among the vassals of Luit-

prand, who, exposed to the attacks of the Venetians, soon found his position in the exarchate untenable, and was obliged to abandon his conquests. Thus the threatened danger from the Longobardi was escaped, though the policy which brought success might not bear too strict investigation; but Leo knew well it was far better to have a helpless exarch for his neighbour than the redoubtable Luitprand.

Saint Peter's chair was next held by Gregory III. (731-741), who followed close in the footsteps of his predecessor. The disputes on image worship continued fierce as ever, the emperor employing his best efforts to put it down in Italy; but it was supported with so much the greater pertinacity by the pope, who, intent on securing the goodwill of the people, energetically set himself to the pictorial adornment of the churches. Leo had no army in Italy which could compel the refractory Roman bishop to submission, and the impotent zeal of the exarch was repaid with the ban of the church, and excommunication as a heretic.*

King Luitprand had in the meantime recovered from his late reverses, and was again becoming dangerous. So Gregory determined to secure safety by an alliance, defensive and offensive, with the dukes of Spoleto and Benevento, vassals of the Lombard crown. But here the acute prince's anticipations failed him woefully. Luitprand got wind of the secret treaty, at once marched with a powerful army against the dukes, defeated them

* We shall have to speak of the ban in a subsequent chapter ("Pope and Humility"), and of the manner in which the bishops of Rome were developed into popes.

after a desperate engagement, then proceeded into the patrimony of St. Peter, and laid siege to Rome, where his traitorous vassals had sought refuge.

The Successor of the Apostles was now in a very cruel strait; if Rome fell he must become a Longobard subject. Foreign help offered the only escape from the dilemma, as the Venetians now refused to involve themselves in hostilities with so redoubtable an antagonist as the Longobard king, and Charles Martel, the all-powerful Frankish "mayor of the palace," was the sole source from which that help could come. His conduct of the campaign against the Saracens had marked him out as the foremost soldier of his age, and to him, the actual arbiter of Gaul* and Southern Germany, the pope now dispatched three successive embassies (anno 739-40) to entreat assistance for St. Peter's representative (so Gregory styled himself), and the Roman church, against the Lombards. Charles Martel had already been brought into communication with the pope through Boniface, the apostle of the Germans, when the messengers arrived, who brought him indeed not entreaties merely, but many precious relics; among them some filings from St. Peter's chains, in honour of the alliance it was the pope's most ardent desire to secure.

The third embassy offered the perhaps more appreciable advantage of the pope's promise,—to renounce en-

* The Frankish monarchy then included the present kingdom of France, and the whole of Christianised Germany. The Merovingian princes wore the crown still, but their master of the household wielded the sceptre, just as the grand viziers of Turkey have in later times governed from behind a puppet sultan.

tirely all connection with Byzantium, and throw himself for the future entirely upon the protection of the Franks. "Charles Martel," wrote Gregory, "shall assume the patriarchate of Rome, the suzerainty of the eternal city, and henceforth hold the same position towards it as the Greek emperors formerly enjoyed." In authentication of these proposals, he sent the key of St. Peter's sepulchre to the great major domo, as the symbol of his future supremacy.

Nor could Charles Martel be insensible to so tempting a proposition, but his health was too broken for him to contemplate the toils of a campaign; and he was bound, both by duty and friendship, to king Luitprand. So he only offered his gratitude to the pope for honours he could not accept, and proved it, by at once dispatching an embassy to induce the Lombard monarch to raise the siege of Rome and suspend all hostilities "against St. Peter's representative." Charles Martel died shortly afterwards, and Gregory did not long survive him, expiring on the 27th November, 741, yet living long enough to see his episcopacy saved by the good offices of the Frank.

Zacharias (anno 741-52) succeeded to the papal chair. A man endowed with the most suasive eloquence, and a conscience free from any trammels imposed by honour or morality. Finding the sons of Charles Martel were too much occupied in their wars with the Bavarians, Saxons, and Allemanni, to render any present help, Zacharias sought a personal interview with king Luitprand, and so won over that redoubtable warrior by soft words and adroit flattery, that he not only obtained a

truce for twenty years, and the restitution of all the "patrimonium" of the apostolic see seized by the Lombards, besides the cities of Amelia, Orta, Bomarzo, and Binda, of which the exarchate had been despoiled,—the pope assuring Luitprand that, "as a conqueror may dispose at will of the spoils of his bow and spear, it were far better to bestow them on the church than restore them to an emperor whose territories were already quite large enough." Zacharias had not procured these concessions without some return; he was obliged to declare the treaty made by his predecessor with the dukes of Spoleto and Urbino false and dishonourable; to renounce all such attempts in future, upon solemn oath; and agree to send a certain number of the Roman militia for the reduction of Spoleto.

The Longobard peril was again circumvented, or at least deferred.

But the pope felt the advantages offered by this new treaty were balanced by still heavier disadvantages, and secretly endeavoured to establish a closer relationship with Pepin,—the only remaining son of Charles Martel. The Frankish alliance once mooted, it offered far too important a resource to be entirely abandoned. Nor was the good will of the pope of less value to Pepin, who, having succeeded to his father's office in the household of king Childeric, determined, with the pious aid of the bishop of Rome, to appropriate his master's crown. Some show of right was, however, necessary to smooth over the usurpation and foresworn fealty, in the eyes of the Franks. So a negotiation was set on foot; and when the mayor of the palace and the successor of St.

Peter had secretly come to a mutual understanding, Bishop Buckhardt of Wurtzburg, and Abbot Fulrad of St. Denis, were publicly sent by Pepin to the pope to learn from his holy lips—"whether a weak, effeminate, and incapable sovereign, might not be deposed, and one more worthy, who should fitly understand the kingly duties, assume his place." Throughout nearly all Western Christendom, the bishop of Rome was then regarded as the final resort in all questions of conscience. As the assumed successor of Christ, to whom could the decision between right and wrong so properly belong, as to him? Thus much depended upon the answer Zacharias would give. Zacharias unhesitatingly made that answer in the affirmative, and solemnly set the seal of his authority to violence and usurpation. A more glaring infringement of political morality has never been perpetrated. Any general or prime minister, entrusted with the cares of war and government, might, by the same argument, declare his master incapable, and usurp the throne. But what cared Zacharias, or the greater number of his successors, for truth, or right? What cared they how robbery was justified, and perjury explained away with pious formulas, so that their own worldly advantage were but secured? as it pre-eminently was, by this "yes" of Pope Zachary.

The Longobards again grew menacing. King Aistulph, who succeeded to the iron crown in 749, declared publicly he would rest not until the whole peninsula acknowledged his sway. Within two years he conquered the whole exarchate and Pentapolis, and in 752 marched against Rome. Zacharias had died in the mean time, and Stephen II. (752-57) held the sacred keys. The

new pope immediately despatched messenger after messenger to Aistulph, to deprecate his advance; and at length, at a great cost of treasure, the king was induced to renounce his projects and conclude a peace.

In a few months, repenting his moderation, Aistulph demanded the recognition of his suzerainty by the bishop, nobility, and people of Rome, and the payment of a yearly tribute of one gold piece for each inhabitant. The old danger, so lately exorcised, was here again in its most threatening aspect; the pope seemed inevitably about to sink into the position of his earliest predecessors, and be like them, a bishop without either vassals or domains; but the result proved him worthy of the policy he had inherited.

With promises and entreaties he first applied to Aistulph himself, but the Longobard king would give no other reply, even to offers of large sums of money, than reiterated demands for acknowledgment of his suzerainty. Stephen then sent an embassy to the emperor Constantine V., with proposals to become at once the most devoted of his subjects, if the royal iconoclast would consent to save Rome and Italy in its present strait; but the Byzantine sovereign had not the means to fit out an army, though his wishes might never so well favour the project. The pope, when this resource failed, went in person to Aistulph's camp, and kneeling at his feet, entreated him to renounce his designs. But here again was only disappointment and humiliation. The King declared that if Rome still held out he would put the whole population to the sword. No course now remained but recurrence to Gregory III.'s policy,—reliance on Frankish help; and though the pope might anticipate

acknowledgment of vassalage would be the price demanded, yet, at the worst, vassalage would be far more easy to bear with a lord paramount beyond the Alps, than under a Lombard king who would in all probability at once designate Rome as his seat of government, and effectually eclipse all the dawning glories of the papacy.

Stephen knew that Pepin, whose courage and crimes, by favour of the papal benediction, had now firmly secured the Frankish crown, could not refuse his aid ; for pope and usurper were mutually necessary to each other. Pepin, after deposing the Merovingian, had caused himself to be anointed* king by Bonifacius,† the “apostle of the Germans ;” and as a devoted friend and servant of the church, was perfectly ready to undertake the holy work by which he might hope to cancel his past misdeeds. There were too many of his vassals troubled with misgivings as to the legitimacy of his title ; and it was Pepin’s object to set these tender consciences at rest by the good offices of the Pope. He declined

* The ceremony of anointing with oil originated in the East, partly as a means of strengthening the limbs, and partly as a specific for improving the complexion. It was a mark of attention never omitted in the reception of an honoured guest. The anointing, used by the Jewish priests both for their persons, garments, and utensils, was founded on this custom ; and a peculiar oil was employed for the purpose, which sanctified everything it touched. The anointing of royal personages in early times had a peculiarly symbolical meaning : it was supposed to endue them with the imperishable sanctity of their office,—to render them inviolable and sacred. At ordinations, the palms of the hands are touched with the precious oil (chrisma). Anointing was employed in ancient Egypt.

† This infamy proved no bar to the subsequent canonization of Boniface, whilst the like honour was accorded to pope Zacharias, the original proposer of the perjury.

giving any definite reply to the legates, but despatched Bishop Chrodigang, of Metz, and duke Ancharius, to entreat the pope to pay a visit to his devoted son, the new king of France. When Stephen learned for what reason Pepin desired his presence, he at once consented to take the journey, anno 753, generously regardless of the discomforts involved by it in the cold of mid-winter. The king was so delighted by this ready compliance, that he not only rode out a considerable distance to meet the Holy Father, but dismounted from his steed and kneeled down, with touching humility, to beg his blessing. Then the pope kneeled in his turn at the royal feet, and declared he would not rise until he had received assurance of protection for the church. We need not linger over this pleasant little comedy; suffice it, pope and king came, ere long, to a mutual understanding: Stephen agreed to solemnly absolve his royal penitent from the perjury to Childeric III.; to anoint him, his wife Bertrade, and their two sons, with the sacred oil; and finally, to threaten the Franks with the ban of the church should they dare to elect another sovereign whilst Pepin or any of his descendants survived. Pepin, on his part, undertook to carry on war against the Longobards until he had secured the safety of Rome, and restored all the "patrimonium" to the chair of St. Peter of which they had deprived it. Further, that any other towns or territories he might conquer in Italy should not be given back to their original master, the Greek emperor, but made over to the pope and his successors, to be held as fiefs under the Frankish monarchy.

When the Longobards had seized the exarchate, the

pope, filled with horror, denounced them as lawless robbers ; now, when the exarchate was to be again conquered, and made over to the Roman See, it was a blessed work, pleasant in the eyes of God and the saints.

The treaty concluded, it was soon brought into operation. The king, anointed and absolved by the pope in the church of St. Denis at Paris, speedily set about his part of the bargain, by marching over the Alps, at the head of a considerable army, into Italy. The ensuing campaign was a very brief one, for when once the Franks had cleared the pass of Fenestrella they pursued their way without further opposition, until, after besieging the Lombard king in Pavia, they obliged him to sue for peace, and Pepin consented to leave Italy only on condition that the exarchate and all the other Lombard conquests in the territories of the emperor should be made over to the Pope. Aistulph agreed to the transference, but only waited until Pepin had recrossed the Alps to break all his promises, and marched again on Rome to punish the pope for calling in foreign intervention. Stephen once more had recourse to his powerful friend, and sent off three embassies, one on the heels of the other to implore his immediate aid, entreating him by "heaven and earth" to root out these "lawless devils the Longobards ;" and the last embassy to arouse the king and excite the people of France for the cause, carried an autograph letter from St. Peter, written expressly for the occasion, in which the saint commanded : "Pepin, the princes his sons, the Frankish nobility, and the Frankish nation, in the name of the Holy Virgin, the Thrones, Dominions, and Powers of

heaven, in the name of the Army of Martyrs, of the Cherubim and Seraphim, of all the Hosts gathered round the throne, and under threat of utter damnation, not to let his peculiar city Rome* fall into the hands of the hell-brand Longobards."

Pepin and his Franks dared not withstand such direct commands from On High, and in the summer of 755 he commenced his second Italian campaign, which ended more brilliantly than the former one. Aistulph was so completely humbled by the first battle, that he at once sought peace, and gladly consented to the terms offered by Pepin.†

Stephen recovered the possessions made over to him by the king of France the previous year; and from this moment we may date the temporal power of the papacy, whilst its maintenance and increase from thenceforth became of far more moment than the abstract interests of God's service or man's salvation.

On the defeat of Aistulph, ambassadors were at once despatched from Constantinople to demand the restitution of the exarchate and Pentapolis, but King Pepin curtly silenced such demands by declaring "he had not gone to war for the emperor, but for the blessed St. Peter, and therefore not only Rome, but the exarchate

* The Apostle thus makes official claim to Rome. This letter is still in existence; it is in Latin, which we are left to infer is the court language in heaven. In what manner the pope received the missive has never been specified, and we must leave the reader to resolve the interesting problem.

† Besides the exarchate and the Pentapolis, Aistulph bound himself to evacuate several other cities in favour of the pope, and to pay a yearly tribute of 5,000 gold florins to the Franks, with an immediate indemnification of 30,000 for the war.

and Pentapolis also, must remain in the hands of the pope." Pepin, as suzerain of Rome, claimed precedence over all other sovereigns, but he meddled little with the government of the Holy Father, nor did he again visit Italy, wars and intrigues in his own dominions keeping him effectually occupied until his death, anno 768.

Affairs assumed a very different aspect when Charlemagne ascended the throne. Having conquered Desiderius, king of the Longobards, anno 774, he subsequently made himself master of great part of southern Italy, when his dominions, including, as they did, all Germany, Gaul, and great part of Spain, were scarcely less in extent than those which had once constituted the empire of the West, whose departed glory he resolved to revive in his own person; and, as a preliminary step, caused Pope Leo III. to crown him emperor. From thenceforth all central and northern Italy was forced to recognise his authority; the pope was made responsible to him and to his representatives, and Rome governed by an imperial sovereign once more. Charlemagne thus achieved the position lost by the Greek emperors, and for several centuries the relations he established were more or less strictly maintained. The pope possessed recognised temporal power, but not an independent crown, and, until enfeoffed by his suzerain, could exercise no princely prerogative whatever.

Though the popes were obliged to forego sovereignty in the full meaning of the word, they had at least the indemnification of a royal revenue, and applied their best endeavours to swell it by every possible means. Our limited space will not allow us to enter into the

details of the papal finance system, interesting as they would be ; we can only glance at its more notorious features, and the methods by which the later lands and lordships of the Roman see were obtained. The means used to secure the first step towards worldly power we have already seen in the papal blessing on perjury and usurpation, and we need not anticipate greater scrupulousness in their subsequent proceedings. The next great aggrandizement to the papacy was represented by the so-called Mathilda legacy. About the middle of the eleventh century, Count Bonifazio of Tuscany succeeded in possessing himself of almost royal territories. His father, Count Tedaldo, had held the cities and provinces of Modena, Rizzio, Tenere, Mantua, and Brescia, as a feoff from the emperor. Bonifazio, however, induced Kaiser Conrad II., in recognition of certain services, to grant him, in addition, the provinces of Tuscany, Parma, and subsequently the duchy of Spoleto and Camerino, besides numerous allodial estates,* which, like personal property, could be disposed of at the will of the owner, whilst with royal fiefs it was necessary that each successive feoffee should be invested by the sove-

* Allodial estates were held free of any feudal service in contradistinction to fief domains, whose possessors could only enjoy the fee simple, as the representatives of the suzerain. Allodial is derived from the old German word *alod*—good, and the landed property of every vassal, in the middle ages, was necessarily either feudal—held in charge for certain service to be rendered, or allodial. The latter descended equally to all the children of the holder ; the former was, in most cases, entailed on the male line, as the conditions of tenure generally involved service in the field. When feudal and allodial estates were held by the same family for a lengthened period, the lands and titles became often so intermixed, that endless lawsuits were the almost inevitable result.

reign. The dominions of Bonifazio included a third part of Italy, and might well have justified him in styling them a kingdom rather than a mere duchy.

On the 7th of May, 1052, Bonifazio died, leaving his daughter Matilda, then nine years of age, sole inheritrix, with her mother Beatrix as regent. Matilda, whilst still a child, was betrothed to her young cousin Gottfried von Lothringen, her widowed mother securing the future alliance by wedding the intended bridegroom's father. But the heiress was afterwards so little disposed to fulfil the engagement made for her, that it was not until 1069 that she could be finally persuaded to have her marriage solemnized. Her aversion remained no less after the ceremony, and she refused to live with her husband, having indeed only yielded her hand to be freed from further importunity, by investing him with the imperial fiefs inherited from her father. This accomplished, she hastened to assume the government of her Italian possessions, over which she held almost absolute sovereignty, whilst Gottfried remained in Germany. The countess at once threw the whole weight of her power, the importance of which we may readily conceive, into the interests of the party at deadly feud with her husband and the emperor.

Two great factions in Germany and Italy had sprung into existence at this time; the one devoted to the imperial, the other to the papal interests.*

For two centuries imperialists and papists massacred, persecuted, and banished each other, each bent on the other's annihilation. We must leave the origin of the

* See book, "Pope and Humility," for further details on this point.

quarrel for a later chapter ; for the present we have but to keep in mind that the two parties were now at the height of their mutual rancour.

Kaiser Henry IV., represented the empire, Gregory VII. the papacy ; Duke Gottfried was the champion of the former, the Countess Matilda of the latter. The church against the state ; the wife against the husband.

Why Matilda thus flagrantly renounced her duty as a wife is readily enough explained. She was the singularly dear friend of Pope Gregory VII., with whom she had lived on the most affectionate terms for many years, whilst he was still Cardinal Hildebrand.

Matilda's admirers would prove her not alone the most intellectual, learned, and amiable, but the purest and gentlest, the most lovely, courageous, and witty lady of that age ; and we are far from questioning the first and last of these qualifications, or doubting her beauty, wit, and courage ; but modesty and gentleness were scarcely consistent with long weeks spent in the camp, or with her achievements when she headed her soldiers in the field, or led them to the assault of the enemy's fortresses. She was, moreover, completely under the influence of Pope Gregory VII., whom she had known when he was still young, and afterwards spent months and years with him, in an intimacy impossible, under any other than their actual, but unacknowledged, relationship.

Gregory's portrait has been painted in the same ideal tints, but the aureole vanishes at the breath of truth. No man endowed with such rare mental qualities, such iron strength of will, ever employed such monstrous,

infamous means to effect his purposes, or secure his power, and such a one could surely have no great claim to peculiar sanctity.

Pope Gregory and Countess Matilda were proverbially spoken of as the "inseparable pair," during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries; and we may suppose Hildebrand was indebted for his influence over the fiery Italian dame to his intellectual superiority, though both pope and countess were ruled by their passions. Matilda, when a widow, and in her forty-sixth year (anno 1089), married a lad of eighteen, whose father, the duke of Bavaria, might have been a far more suitable match for this favourite heroine of the papal historians.

When Pope Gregory was staying with the countess in her castle of Canossa—that same Canossa where Kaiser Henry IV. had to endure sore degradation and shame—he induced her to make a will (anno 1077), by which she devolved the whole of the possessions, at her own disposal, to the see of Rome. She was enabled to gratify His Holiness in this particular; her youthful husband having died during the previous year, and leaving her childless, she could dispose of all her private and allodial property as she might think best.

Being childless, the fiefs she held would, of course, revert to the emperor at her death. Over these she had no power; but the actual legacy made in favour of the papacy, and for love of its representative, was indeed no trifling one, and Gregory might well rejoice at his success. He could justly hope she would not contemplate any change in the precious document; indeed Matilda,

who no longer had the temptations of youth, solemnly promised him, "who was all in all to her," never to wed again, but die in her widowed state. Yet his anticipations were well nigh frustrated. Matilda endeavoured to arrange a marriage with the young duke Welf of Bavaria, and as she could not hope to tempt him by her faded charms, promised to secure in his favour the reversion of her imperial fiefs, and to constitute him sole heir of all her personal and allodial property.

Gregory had been scarce two years dead, when the marriage actually took place, and the lady who has been held up for the world's admiration as the most virtuous and modest of her sex, thus bought a husband who might more naturally have seemed her grandson. Urban assumed the papal tiara in 1088, and sore was his perplexity and fear that the noble inheritance was about to pass away from the church to this upstart young Welf. He rested not until, after some trouble and great public scandal, the countess was induced to send both her husband and infant son away to Bavaria. The old duke Welf, enraged beyond measure, at once marched into Italy, and demanded the immediate surrender of her domains to her husband; but whilst she held possession she cared little for his indignation, and the old duke, for the moment at least, gained nothing. But the claims he and his son had obtained by the latter's marriage, were fated to excite a war which lasted with varying success for more than two hundred years.

Urban well knew the game he had to play when he induced Matilda to discard her boy husband, and in a

short time had so well employed the ascendancy he had gained over her, that she executed a second testament (the original one had disappeared after her marriage), by which she once more devolved the whole of her possessions to the successors of St. Peter. This last will was even more favourable to the church than the first had been. By it (for so it might be interpreted, and popes have singular talents for interpreting to their own advantage), she bestowed, not only her allodial property, but that also which she held in fief, and over which she had no legal power of alienation. From this time Matilda remained faithful to the papacy, which had realised that for which its chiefs had so anxiously planned and plotted, for which Gregory VII. had lived in politic adultery, and Urban II. would have despoiled a child of its just inheritance.

Then succeeded all the falsehood and misrepresentation adopted by the succeeding popes to justify their claims through this equivocal parchment. The policy by which the first favours of Pepin were obtained became traditional. Still the popes dared not openly assert their right to the spoils they had won. Matilda died, July 24, 1115, at her castle of Bondano dei Ronconi, near Reggio, and the reigning pontiff, Pascal II., not only did not demand the inheritance left to the church, he did not even produce the testament regarding it, and took no steps whatever to carry out Matilda's pious intentions. The emperor bestowed the great fiefs among his adherents, chiefly German nobles, and Rome made no sign, uttered no protest.

Seven years* later, when Pope Calixtus signed the Concordat of Worms with the emperor, anno 1122, His Holiness spoke no word of the will made by the countess, or of the claims the church might justly found on it. Indeed, a doubt has arisen, shared by many modern historians, whether such a deed ever existed at all. Let this be as it may, it is historically certain that first on the death of Henry V. (1125), Pope Honorius II. (1124-30) found courage to publish demands founded on this mysterious legacy. How he dared take this step is easily explained. The successor of Kaiser Henry, Lothair, duke of Saxony, owed his elevation to the imperial throne to the three prince bishop electors, and still more to papal influence, and was thus in no position to defend the interests of his crown with the same energy as his predecessor. Yet, notwithstanding all the compliancy and goodwill of Lothair, the pope could not wholly succeed in his designs.

In 1133 a compromise was agreed to by Innocent II. (successor of Honorius), by which the allodial estates left by the countess were declared church property, whilst the fiefs she had held were to continue at the emperor's disposal. It was, however, found so difficult to determine to which category a great part of her lands belonged ; during her long life the various tenures had got so hopelessly involved, that to avoid a recommence-

* The wars between the papacy and the empire had never ceased since the time of the emperor Henry IV., when Gregory VII. asserted his claim as supreme head of Christendom. (See chapter "Pope and Humility"). And no peace was possible until one or other of the disputants was overcome.

ment of the disputes, it was finally settled the pope should resign all his claims for an indemnification of one hundred silver marks, to be annually paid by the emperor. It was further agreed that on the emperor's death, his son in law, Duke Henry of Bavaria and Saxony, should take the estates on the same conditions, but that on his decease it should revert to the papacy.

This treaty was carried into effect, and thus Matilda's domains remained for some time in the hands of the Welfs, who, moreover, might claim them as her legitimate heirs, duke Henry being the brother's son of her second consort. Duke Henry died in 1139, and the old strife threatened to be re-opened. But Kaiser Frederick Barbarossa* was minded to be master of the situation, trusting to his own strong hand and iron will for success. As he had been principally indebted for his elevation to the imperial throne to the son of the above duke Henry (also called Henry, and surnamed "the Lion"), and his brother, Welf VI., he proceeded to invest the former with the dukedoms of Bavaria and Saxony, of which the old duke Henry had been unjustly deprived; and the latter with Tuscany, the dukedom of Spoleto, and all Matilda's allodial estates. Pope Hadrian IV., 1159, protested loudly against this, and demanded both the allodial lands and the dukedom of Spoleto as church patrimony, but he very shortly died, and his successor, Alexander III. (1159-80) entered into the same arrangement with duke Welf, by which Lothair had held the disputed territories. The only son of Welf VI. died anno 1167, and Henry the Lion became heir

* Made emperor in 1152.

presumptive to all Matilda's possessions. Welf VI. had extravagant tastes, and after the death of his son indulged them more recklessly than ever. His revenues soon proved quite insufficient to satisfy all the courtiers, adventurers and jugglers, who thronged his court. Made at length quite desperate by ever-growing debts, he applied to his wealthy nephew, Henry, offering to formally appoint him his sole heir, and even immediately abdicate in his favour, on condition the "Lion" would assume all his liabilities and allow him a yearly pension. Henry declined the proposal, having no lionine acquisitiveness. Then Welf had recourse to another nephew, the emperor Frederick; he of the red beard grasped eagerly enough at so tempting a bargain, and Matilda's lands passed, 1168, to the Hohenstaufen.

We may well believe these family arrangements were not viewed with great satisfaction at Rome. The efforts of all the later popes had been directed to the consolidation of a temporal sovereignty; their policy,—never to yield anything they had secured. It mattered little how nefarious the means might be, so they aided the pious work. What cared they, though interminable wars should involve Italy and Germany alike in misery and ruin, until utter political chaos seemed the inevitable fate of both. They, the mighty magicians, had invoked the anarchy, and could triumphantly await the throne they had resolved to raise upon it.

With Innocent III. (1198-1216) came the great turning point of the papal destinies. As despotic, ambitious, cunning as any of his predecessors, none had exceeded him in resoluteness, patience, and knowledge of man-

kind.* Kaiser Henry VI. died in 1197, leaving his infant son, afterwards the famous Frederick II., to the guardianship of his uncle, duke Philip of Suabia. The Duke had been entrusted by his late brother with the management of the imperial affairs in Italy, but immediately left for Germany to support the claims of his ward as well as the general interests of the Hohenstaufen at the ensuing imperial election. The field was thus left free for Innocent; and he at once employed his opportunity, and boldly demanded the whole territory held by Matilda, imperial fiefs, and allodial lands alike, taking measures to secure them by the strong hand if necessary. The fiefs, as we have said, had long since reverted to the empire, Henry VI. bestowing Spoleto on Sir Conrad of Urlingen, Anconia on his seneschal Marquard, and Tuscany on Sir Conrad of Lutzenhardt. The whole inheritance had fallen to Germans; and this fact enabled Innocent to master all his three opponents in detail with so much the greater ease. He commenced with Marquard, first pronouncing the ban of the church against him; then declared his subjects released from their oath of allegiance, and called on them to rise and drive out their foreign masters. He spared neither money nor men in assisting the rebellion; and the seneschal having no adequate forces was obliged to give up the contest and seek safety in Apulia, when the remaining cities of the Romagna he had received, fell one after the other, either in the autumn of 1198 or the spring of 1199, into the hands of the pope. Innocent had still less difficulty with Sir Conrad, duke of Spoleto, who, finding the whole

* Son of Barbarossa.

of his Italian subjects opposed to him, and his German troops too few to afford any effectual resistance, avoided useless bloodshed by at once yielding to the pope's demands and absolving his vassals from their fealty. Now Tuscany alone remained to be secured, when all the disputed inheritance would be at length united beneath the papal crown. But from Tuscany pope Innocent was forced to stay his hand; for on the death of Kaiser Henry, the more important towns had united with the Italian feudal seigneurs, driven Sir Conrad of Lutzenhardt from Florence, and concluded the famous "Tuscan league," which had for its object the confederation of all the people of Tuscany against their foreign oppressors. Innocent concluded it were better policy to form a close alliance with the confederation, rather than to attack it, since he might thus secure allies who would stand by him and his throne if a struggle came with the Emperor. Whilst these events were taking place in Italy, the Germans were occupied with the election of a new Emperor. There were two candidates for the crown:—Otto, of Saxony the Welf duke, and Phillip of Suabia, who claimed it as regent during the minority of his brother's son. The former was supported by the bishop electors, who acted under the direction of the papal legates; the latter by the temporal princes. Innocent instructed his legates to ingratiate themselves with the Welf, and promise him, under certain conditions, the whole weight of the papal influence; or, if he declined those conditions, then threaten to give their good offices to Phillip.

Otto readily grasped at the bait; for he had too much reason to fear his cause would be hopeless, unless sup-

ported by the strong arm of the church. On the 8th of July, at Reuss, near Cologne, the following compact was made between Otto and Innocent: the pope undertook to ensure the duke's election, and the latter solemnly swore to "uphold and protect, to the best of his power and understanding, all the rights and possessions of the apostolic chair; to leave in its keeping all its acquisitions of the past three years; and to aid, to the full limit of his power, in recovering in its behalf the remaining portion of the countess' legacy."

The "possessions" referred to included the whole district between Radicofani and Ceperano, the former exarchate of Ravenna, with Pentapolis, the Romagna, the dukedom of Spoleto, all Matilda's allodial lands, the province of Bertinoro as well as the districts adjoining, with which Kaiser Ludwig, the pious son of Charlemagne, had endowed the church. Of this last endowment nothing had been ever heard till then; yet the legates produced all the proper documents to substantiate it in legal form, bearing date anno 817. According to these venerable parchments, Louis the Pious had made over to the Roman See the whole of southern Italy, with Naples and the Two Sicilies, though, in 817, all the country so bestowed was still in the possession of the emperors of Constantinople. Thus, if the deed produced were genuine, Louis had given away part of another sovereign's territory,* and might as well have

* Naples, Gaëta, Amalfi, all Apulia, Calabria, Sicily, and the small islands off the coast, forming the kingdom of Naples of later times, belonged, until 1016, to the Byzantine empire. Then came the Norman invasions, which, by the close of the eleventh century, gave the *coup de grâce* to the power of the Greek sovereigns in Italy.

included Constantinople, or Asia and Africa, in the same deed.

Indeed the spuriousness of the document * was glaring enough, but historical criticism was little known in those days, and Otto's interests might, perhaps, prevent him being inconveniently sceptical; and thus Innocent crowned the work at which his predecessors had so long laboured. The formal cession signed by Otto provided a legal basis for the claims of the Church on the dominions in question, or would do so, so soon as Otto should be anointed emperor.† History proves how well

* The Roman church, even in the days of Charlemagne, had distinguished itself by the cultivation of forgery. The great emperor imprisoned a legate from Pope Hadrian I., convicted of falsifying evidence. The deed of gift by Louis the Pious is no longer defended even by the apologists of the papacy.

† A fierce quarrel sprang up between Otto and Phillip which the holy father carefully fomented, for so long as the Germans were at feud with each other they would have no armies to spare for Italy, and thus the peninsula could lie open for the papal operations. Innocent excommunicated the rival of his champion, but Phillip soon made such flattering proposals to the pope that the quarrel was settled, by arranging that Phillip should wear the imperial crown during his life, and Otto immediately succeed him without re-election. Phillip did not long enjoy his honours, being murdered in 1208; and Otto, anno 1209, ratified at Spire all the promises he had entered into at Reuss eight years before. He repented, when too late, and endeavoured to recover by the strong hand that of which the pope's wit had so shrewdly tricked him; Innocent retaliated by setting up Frederick, son of Henry IV., who was now of age, as a rival claimant to the empire, though not until he had recognised all the terms originally agreed to by Otto. Otto was vanquished by Frederick in 1214, and the latter was shortly afterwards crowned by the hand of Innocent himself. Yet the new monarch was scarcely seated on the throne before he too applied himself to regain all he had bargained away, and then arose the terrible wars between "Imperium and Sacerdotium," racking Germany and Italy to their very centre, and ended only in 1275 when Kaiser Rudolph of Hapsburg confirmed Christ's vicegerent

the scheme was planned. Innocent III. may be regarded as the chief founder of the temporal sovereignty of the Church, though by what perjury, forgery, and bloodshed, the reader has sufficiently seen. The bishops of Rome were now invested with royal prerogatives and royal revenues; shall we find their subjects happier than those of mere temporal rulers? Were the most fruitful provinces of Italy, of all Europe, perhaps, blessed with prosperity and good government under the successors of St. Peter—the vicegerents of heaven? A fearful irony is in that title; we might rather call the wearers of the triple crown vicegerents of sin and the father of lies. The vassals of the most irresponsible despot had never greater cause to protest against the misery inflicted on them by their rulers than those of the holy father. Not only do modern historians and ancient chroniclers bring proofs irrefragable of this, but the very writers most devoted to the papacy unconsciously corroborate them; though it is unnecessary we should occupy our limited space with the details,* we must briefly glance at the causes which rendered the papal rule (with how few exceptions) so essentially evil. We cannot, of course, suppose the popes systematically employed themselves in making their people wretched; yet the explanation of such a result may be readily found. The whole system of the temporal power of the bishop of Rome was founded on false principles from the first moment of its

in the possession of those domains assured to the church by Otto IV. From henceforth the popes held fast that which they had so boldly won.

* Bankes's *History of the Popes* sufficiently illustrates the condition of the papal states during the middle ages.

existence, and will remain so to its last. The popes have always appointed priests to every important office of state—men, therefore, unfitted by their whole training and education to their duties. The very minister at War, must be at the same time a minister of the Prince of Peace. The lay subjects of His Holiness had to bear the whole weight of the taxation from which the priesthood, though possessing far the greater part of the land, were wholly exempt, and, to fill up the measure of this injustice, ecclesiastics accused of any offence against the laws, were only answerable to an ecclesiastical tribunal.

How heavily this exemption weighed on the rest of the community may be illustrated by the following circumstances, which occurred in the thirteenth century. The city of Fano (anno 1217) was under the necessity of repairing its walls, but was so ill provided with funds for the work that it was obliged to call on the monasteries and rich benefices to contribute some small part. The bishop of Fano immediately prohibited any of the clergy under his authority from submitting to the tax. The city then refused to supply its ghostly comforters with any kind of food, and for three weeks bishops and priests had nothing to eat but lentils and gray peas. The citizens even went further, taking a solemn vow to hear neither mass nor sermon from the bishop until his grace had yielded the point at issue. Regardless of the ban he hurled at them, they socially excommunicated him as it were, and he was finally starved into submission, for the moment at least, but only for the moment, for means were shortly found at Rome to bend the stiff necks of the men of Fano; but we may conceive how

irritating must have been an abuse which could thus excite good catholics into daring the thunders of the church. For centuries a more complete social disorganization and perversion of justice prevailed in the states of the church than in any other civilized country ; security of person or property were blessings undreamed of ; robbery and murder went unpunished, whilst the interests of education, of manufactures, or agriculture, were words never heard within the Vatican.

The Romans gained one thing by the papal government—Rome became the capital of the Christian world, and, partly through the luxury of its court and partly from the multitude of strangers constantly arriving, money was always plentiful in the city. Yet, despite this advantage, the preponderating evils were so great that the citizens were always in a state of chronic rebellion, and would have eagerly emancipated themselves from a yoke at once detested and degrading. Volumes might be filled with the story of their ever-recurring insurrections, but we must content ourselves with a few examples from those in which the very principle of the temporal power was the object of attack.

The first instance we shall cite (for the earlier ones had been of comparatively slight importance) took place in 1142, when the Romans not only renounced their obedience to Innocent II., but declared Rome an independent republic, and proceeded to elect a government under the time-honoured title of a senate. Leo, "patricius Romæ," was appointed president by his colleagues, and represented the city in its home and foreign policy ; the chief difficulty was to oblige the pope to give

up not only his political dignity, but the state revenues, and make him and his clergy content themselves with their tithes and the free-will offerings of the faithful. Innocent could not survive so cruel a hardship, and died of vexation in 1143. His successor, Lucius II., resolved to make short work with the revolution, and, having gathered an army together, attacked the capitol, the seat of the republican government. His attack was repulsed, and he himself so severely wounded, that he expired in a few days afterwards, on the 15th of February, 1145. Eugenius III., who next sat on St. Peter's chair, had no better fortune in bringing back the refractory Romans, though he made his escape from the city and secured Norman aid, his "blinded vassals," as he called them, commanded by Arnolfo of Brescia,* declared that as the apostles had possessed neither land nor lordships, so neither did it beseem their successors, the popes, to claim such things.

The Romans even invited Conrad III. to take up his residence in Rome, declare it the capital of his empire, and reduce the popes to the dependent position they had held during the earlier centuries. The Kaiser did not accept the proposal, and his successor, Frederic Barbarossa (1153), even offered to reduce Rome to obedience for the pope, in consideration of being crowned there by the hands of his holiness. Two years later he fulfilled his offer; but scarcely had he left the city when the people rose again, and Alexander III. (1159-81) could only by the sacrifice of no small treasure obtain

* We shall have much to say of this celebrated heretic in a later chapter.

permission to return,—November 23rd, 1165. The Romans only gave their consent on condition the senate should be maintained in full authority, and the civil administration of the city entrusted to lay officials, chosen by the citizens. The peace lasted but a short time. The next pontiff, Lucius III. (1181-85) aroused the resentment of his subjects, and was obliged to make his escape and seek safety at Aquila, when, despite ban and interdict, Rome declared itself completely independent, and was never re-entered by him. Its gates remained as inexorably closed to the two following pontiffs, Urban III. and Gregory VIII. Not until May, 1138, was a reconciliation effected; when Clement III. promised to uphold the senate, which was subject to annual election; and that one-third of the revenue should be set apart for the requirements of the city. "Order" remained unbroken under Innocent III., whose firm will not only prevented any revolt in his own dominions, but made nearly the whole catholic world bow at his footstool. Under his successors, Honorius III. (1216-27), and Gregory IX. (1227-41), the Romans again rebelled and declared Rome independent. In 1252 the famous senator, Brancalone degli Andolo, a man as distinguished by his birth, wealth, and mental endowment, as for his courage and incorruptible honour, accepted the government, and Innocent IV. was obliged to submit himself to the senators' authority, or see the gates of the capital for ever closed to him. Never had Rome enjoyed a better or more liberal government; never had justice been more impartially administered,—though the priests unanimously denounced it, and the

popes have found no words strong enough to characterize their trials in those days. All the privileges and immunities of the clergy were suspended; monastery and church property made to contribute, like all other, to the public requirements; priests were no longer entrusted with the administration of justice, and could not indulge in vice or crime with impunity, as of old, when they had felt raised above earthly responsibility. The pope was forced to promise, on oath, that neither Rome nor any one of its citizens should in future be subjected to excommunication. Of course, secretly, every means were tried to overthrow the terrible Brancalone,* and this object was nearly attained, by an insurrection contrived and fomented by the priests; but the Romans repented their ingratitude before it was too late, and Alexander IV. (1254-61), the successor of Innocent, after excommunicating them and their great senator, was but too glad to save himself by taking refuge at Viterbo. Twelve years after Brancalone's death Alexander's successor, Clement IV. (1265-71) secured readmittance, and, thanks to Charles of Anjou, reduced the rebellious Romans to submission. But that submission was but due to overwhelming force; scarce a century, scarce a single generation passed away without the sorely-tried vassals of the tiara either forcibly driving the pope out of Rome, or compelling him to forego his temporal power for a greater or less period. Such were the sentiments of the Romans towards their ruler, that they

* So impartial was the justice dealt by Brancalone, that he condemned to capital punishment two cousins of the pope, convicted with other nobles of robbery and rapine.

eagerly seized every chance that offered escape from their servitude. Then, as now, no man perhaps but the priests and their creatures, but would have regarded with unspeakable satisfaction the Holy Father's abdication of his worldly crown.

With such a state of feeling prevalent, the popes were necessarily obliged to guard their kingly prerogatives with foreign aid ; and to Swiss mercenaries was entrusted the sacred person of the pontiff and the safety of his fortress St. Angelo. Rome had to submit to military rule from a soldateska, bringing with it the strange customs and strange speech of another land. When a long course of weary oppression stirred the population to resistance, and fortune favoured the cause of the oppressed, the popes could always have recourse to Spain or France, or to the Hapsburgs, to bring back the "misguided" vassals of the papacy to their former "happy obedience." Thus, little by little, Italy was involved in impotent anarchy,—made bankrupt, body and soul. We cannot wonder that the most intelligent men the country has produced should declare the papacy from of old, "the curse of Italy." But the successors of the apostles could afford to laugh at their detractors whilst their own revenues and power were secure. Gold, gold, and still more gold, was their unvarying cry, and the more they obtained the more insatiable grew their greed. Soon the revenues of the papal states became insufficient for their requirements ; and then another source of supply was found, which even proved more fruitful than the pope's home fiscal system, productive as it was. We will now investigate in detail this financial discovery.

CHAPTER IV.

PETER'S PENCE.

THE conversion of the kingdoms included in northern Europe was principally accomplished by Roman missionaries about the close of the sixth or commencement of the seventh century, under the auspices of pope Gregory the Great. Thus these kingdoms fell into a peculiar dependence on the bishop of Rome,—the dependence of a spiritual colony on its mother church; and it is not surprising they felt especial devotion to the capital of Christendom, and expressed it by frequent rich offerings to its spiritual chief, who, on his part, failed not in pious exhortations to the continuance of so excellent a practice, and was never weary of holding out his hands for the gifts of the faithful. From these voluntary oblations, assisted by the persevering efforts of His Holiness for more and still more, a kind of annual revenue grew up; year by year the demands of the popes were anticipated and supplied by this means, until, by papal tact and courage, the custom was moulded into the institution of Peter's pence.

We find the first indication of this Peter's pence in the eighth century, under the Saxon Heptarchy in Eng-

land. King Ina of Wessex having made a pilgrimage to Rome, established there (in England there were no educational establishments for the higher branches of learning) the so-called Scolia Saxorum, and an hospital for poor English pilgrims. "So at this opportunity," say the papal chronicles, "there was taken into consideration a yearly tribute, and King Ina promised in the name of himself and his successors, the dutiful establishment of Peter's pence." The truth of this tradition has been much questioned, and with very good reason; but whether true or false, it is certain that seventy years after this supposed origin, we find Peter's pence a firmly rooted institution, as a letter from Pope Leo III. (795-816) to Arnulf of Marcia sufficiently proves. In this letter Leo states that King Offa of Wessex (who died 796) had promised a yearly offering of three hundred and sixty-five marks (a heavy silver coin of the period) for lighting St. Peter's church, and assisting the poor in Rome. Whether this was actually given we have no positive information; though when King Ethelwolf, the father of Alfred, went to Rome, anno 855, he carried three hundred marks with him as a present for His Holiness, and from this date we find constant reference in the Anglo-Saxon annals and statute books to this Peter's pence, as a yearly religious tribute. Under King Edgar (anno 950) it was called a *denar*, and collected from every householder, under heavy penalties, on St. Peter's day.

Peter's pence (what we have already instanced sufficiently proves) was originally a free-will offering, partly for St. Peter's church, and partly for poor English pil-

grims in Rome. It soon became, however, a compulsory tax, assessed on every free Englishman possessing houses or land over the yearly annual value of thirty pence (denari).

Pope Gregory VII. (1073-86), he who first grasped the full capabilities of the papal crown, and laboured so effectively for their development, declared this pious donation was in reality a political tribute, and thence proceeded to prove England a fief royal of the church.

He demanded from William the Conqueror not only the "customary 300 marks which had been annually furnished during many centuries," but also the king's oath of fealty, boldly asserting England had been since the earliest times "a tributary kingdom of St. Peter." The assertion had no support, but a gross forgery; but in the ignorance and anarchy of those times the pope might hope to effect his purpose. The keen witted Norman replied, however, "he should hold it his duty to make the customary pious oblation, but that no English king had ever taken oath of vassalage to a pope, nor would he ever consent to do so." So England continued to furnish Peter's pence, but took good heed never to sink into political dependence on Rome. The popes imposed on the English prelates the responsibility of securing the tax; the prelates transferred the duty to their archdeacons, and these devolved the charge to their subordinates, who went from house to house, sparing no one from whom by fair or foul means the money could be extracted; for if ghostly persuasions failed, they had recourse to the arm of the flesh, and thus found no great difficulty in making a satisfactory annual return.

This revenue naturally greatly increased with the growth of the population, and became at last so immense that it even considerably exceeded the king's own. It appears, however, from the complaints made by the popes, that much of the proceeds failed to reach their coffers; indeed, after some years, more than half never got beyond the hands of the archdeacons, and their immediate collectors. No blow ever fell more cruelly on the papacy than that by which the rich stream of Peter's pence was suddenly stayed in its course in England, and dried up for ever.

Its end came from Henry VIII., who, when the fair Boleyn found favour in his eyes, applied to Pope Clement VII. for the necessary divorce from Queen Catherine. The pope at first exhibited the greatest willingness to meet the king's wishes, and sent Cardinal Campegius to England with the divorce in his pocket; but Charles V., a near relation of Catherine, interfered, and Clement dared not offend him whilst the Reformation in Germany was still unsuppressed. So he directed Campegius to flatter Henry's hopes, but to destroy the important document.

The trial dragged on year after year, until King Hal lost patience, and made Archbishop Cranmer pronounce him free to marry again, then broke off all connexion with Rome, abolished Peter's pence, and every other tie to the papacy.

So ceased the tax which England had paid century after century for its conversion; a tax which had yielded millions, and the loss of which could scarcely be made good by any financial ingenuity.

Nor was England the only country which furnished "Roman tribute," or "Romfeod," as Peter's pence was also called; over the whole of northern Europe, the profitable institution had been successfully extended. Denmark, from the eleventh to the fifteenth century, conscientiously supplied its annual quota, and Poland especially bound to Rome, (for Pope Benedict IX. had in 1034 dispensed King Casimir* from his monastic vows on the death of his elder brother), also contributed. Prussia was to have been equally favoured. Pope John XXII. charged the archbishop of Gnesen, and the bishop of Breslau (1320), with the preliminary arrangements; but the whole country, with the sovereign at its head, was in opposition to the measure; and though the papal claims were urgently renewed in 1343, 1348, and 1445, they had no satisfactory issue; the tribute, though occasionally allowed, was never formally recognised. The popes fared better in Sweden, where the cardinal legate, Nicholas, afterwards Hadrian IV., induced the synod of Trincoping to declare the papacy had full right to levy the Peter's pence. Norway was equally docile; even Iceland, and the Faroë Islands, were drawn into the fiscal net; and though the population of the latter was so sparse and poor, coin was frequently totally unknown to the inhabitants, this was compensated by their being allowed to pay the tax in kind—in furs or walrus teeth;† nothing, indeed, was despised at the Vatican that had the smallest exchangeable value. Spain and France both obdurately refused

* Second son of Miecislaws II.

† Dentes de roada, as they are called in the Vatican account books.

to be cajoled into a like generosity, though Gregory VII. strove hard to prove that Charlemagne himself had established Peter's pence there for the service of the church. The sovereigns of both countries remained incredulous. Though documentary evidence enough was forthcoming in support of the papal claims, they refused any and every concession which could bear any relation to "Roman tribute." The same opposition awaited his holiness in Germany; though there the voluntary offerings sufficiently indemnified him for the absence of the legal tax.

With the Reformation came the total extinction of the Peter's pence, as a compulsory enactment; yet so much the more eager have the popes become for its voluntary bestowal; and whenever the papal treasury falls short, recourse is always had to the denarii of "good Catholics," to save the apostolic throne from insolvency.

How many millions have not thus found their way to Rome? But let us proceed to the investigation of another source of wealth: one far more prolific, perhaps, the most prolific, ever invented by financial ingenuity.

CHAPTER V.

THE YEAR OF JUBILEE AND PLENARY INDULGENCE.

A YEAR of Jubilee and Plenary Indulgence: what a magnificent conception! If we but consider that from Germany alone, without taking into account the rest of western Europe, at least a third of the whole currency found its way to Rome under the spell of those few words, we may easily acknowledge the result of the invention might well exceed any estimation we can now form of it. During the earlier centuries of Christianity we have seen it was the custom to solemnly expel any member from the communion of the faithful who had been guilty of crime, or whose conduct might bring reprobation on the church. The expulsion was effected by the votes of the members of that particular community to which the offender belonged. A person so expelled could not be restored to his spiritual privileges until he had sufficiently proved his remorse; as his sins were more or less grievous, so were the penances imposed for them. Some notorious sinners had for years to entreat the forgiveness of their fellow-believers at the church door, and there make public confession of their evil deeds; others, again might hope for speedy restitu-

tion when they had, kneeling contritely, acknowledged their wickedness.

These public penances were soon found very distasteful to penitents, who greatly preferred confiding the troubles of their consciences to their bishop or presbyter in private, and then privately fulfil the atonement he should impose.* The majority of the bishops were well pleased to encourage this new form of confession, their own dignity and importance gaining greatly by it. From these private acknowledgments of sin grew the institution of oral confession, and from the private penances enjoined the whole system of canonical penal discipline,† which were fated to bring a complete revo-

* Private confession probably first originated in the fact as well from the scandals arising out of public confession, and the natural shame so inseparable from the latter. In consequence, about the year A.D. 250, the office of penitentiary presbyter was created, to whom private confession was first made. But this office, and with it the practice of private or "auricular" confession, was suspended throughout eastern Christendom A.D. 390, in consequence of a gross instance of their abuse. Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, to appease the public indignation, deposed the offending priest, and at the same time abolished the office and custom.—*Translator*.

† Private confession was first practised in the east. Leo I., and still more Gregory the Great, introduced the practice into the Latin church, and the latter pope imposed the oath of secrecy on the priesthood. Innocent IV. changed the name to oral confession, penitents having to whisper their sins into the ear of their spiritual adviser.

The sacrament of penance as it has gradually developed, consists of three integral parts: "attrition," confession, and satisfaction; the last is, of course, the chief object in view, and is imposed by the penitent's confessor generally under the form of alms, fasting, prayers, pilgrimages, voluntary suffering, and scourging, and other such "opera satisfactoria," "reconciliatory works" prescribed as "censuræ ecclesiasticæ" ("church penalties"); frequently, at the discretion of the priest, offerings in money to be applied to "bonæ operæ" ("good works") are substituted.

lution not only in individual communities but through the whole Christian church.

As in the early times of public acknowledgment of sins, when the penalties incurred were frequently remitted in favour of sick or feeble persons, so afterwards the bishops assumed the right of either annulling or modifying the penances incurred, or accepting fines in commutation of them. The latter modification was frequently made in the case of wealthy persons, who were thus enabled to make their peace with Heaven by merely liberally drawing their purse-strings in its service.

By the fifth and sixth century we find abundant evidence of canonical penances changed into money fines. The priesthood soon found the advantage of cataloguing those sins which could be thus redeemed, and definitely settled the mulct to be rendered for each. Toward the end of the seventh century, Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, compiled a work, in which the various crimes and misdemeanours are classified, and their respective fines added in proper order. Thus early was the sin catalogue and tax table* organised, nor was it

All punishments inflicted as works of satisfaction can be commuted by an indulgence.

[It is not generally understood that by contrition, which arises from the love of God, and a sincere repentance and a hatred of sin, the church of Rome teaches that the sinner becomes reconciled to God without the sacrament of penance, but she alleges so few attain to this perfection of repentance, that in pity she steps in and makes up what is wanting by means of "attrition," which she defines to be an imperfect repentance, that is, a repentance arising from the fear of punishment and Hell, by which, with the sacrament of penance, the sinner becomes reconciled to God.]—*Note by Translator.*

* The earliest catalogue of the kind now known is that entitled "Theodori cilicis Pœnitentiale." An improved edition of this, under

allowed to fall into desuetude; such atonements proved by far the most advantageous to the church, or rather to the priesthood, who, moreover, could from time to time enlarge the fines as occasion might suggest, and so carry out the original plan to its full perfection. So came indulgences into existence, that is, the remittance of canonical penalties, and substitution of money fines in their stead. We have now to discover how the popes contrived to secure to themselves the chief moiety of the produce, though each priest possessed the right of mulcting repentant sinners.

We have already considered the causes which gave the see of Rome so preponderating an influence throughout western Christendom; it was regarded as the sacred mother church, whose words her spiritual offspring were bound to reverence, and for whom St. Peter and St. Paul had laboured and died. There, too, were gathered the precious relics of Christ and his apostles; so many were these, especially after Jerusalem had fallen into the hands of the Saracens, that no other city in Europe could vie with the capital of the papacy in such pious treasures. The importance of the Roman See had grown year by year, until, in the eleventh and twelfth century, the popes were the acknowledged vicegerents of Christ upon earth. It was no wonder that vast mul-

the name of "The Mirror of Confession," was prepared by Regino, abbot of the Benedictine Monastery of Prüm. Later, under John XXII., appeared a "*Taxa cameræ seu cancellariæ apostolicæ*," and a new and improved edition of this in 1514, under Leo X., in his "*Regulæ constitutiones, reservationes cancellariæ S. domino nostri Leonis novitæ editæ*." The last improvements to the sin tariff were effected in 1744, in the pontificate of Benedict XIV.

titudes of people went every year to Rome to behold the metropolis of their faith and its sacred ruler. No wonder that thousands upon thousands of pilgrimages to Rome were undertaken, that by prayers in its favoured temples penitents might win forgiveness for their sins. Though every priest was empowered to grant absolution, absolution seemed something far different when accorded by the chief bishop of Christendon.

Year by year papal supremacy rose even higher in men's esteem, and consequently the value of the forgiveness offered by the lower clergy was proportionately depreciated. The popes willingly enough fostered this tendency of public opinion, and shortly claimed the sole power to grant remission from "sin against Heaven," and decreed not only temporal and ecclesiastical penalties for them, but assumed the power of annulling the very sin itself.*

* The respect in which papal indulgences were held was enhanced especially by three things : by the crusades, when all who entered on the holy war received full and complete remittance of all backslidings and crimes, a remittance far more precious than the pardons granted by the bishops for individual misdeeds ; by the doctrine of purgatory, that middle region between Hell and Heaven where souls are doomed to torture or set free by papal intervention, secured through the payment of certain sums for masses and wax tapers, [the doctrine of purgatory was promulgated in the sixth century, and first publicly recognised by an ecclesiastical council held at Florence, 1439 ;] and, thirdly, by the doctrine of the supererogatory works accomplished by Christ and his apostles. Rome declared a single drop of Christ's blood would have sufficed for the salvation of mankind ; and as He had bestowed it all for us, an inexhaustible treasure of redemption had been created. The saints, also, had accomplished far more than was necessary for their own salvation, and over this inheritance, called "*Thesaurus meritoriarum, superabundantium Christi et sanctorum*," the successors of St. Peter had full power of disposal ; Clement VI., 1342, constituting this claim an article

Intent on carrying out these assumptions, they proceeded to endow various churches in Rome with peculiar virtues, by which the pious visitants, after making the stated offerings in hard coin or more or less contrition, were at once accredited with certain remittances drawn upon purgatory. As these boons increased, so were the recipients multiplied, and it became customary to visit in succession all the salvation-working temples, praying, and, above all, paying at each. St. Peter's, on Christmas eve, always boasted the greatest throng of devotees, as his holiness endowed the cathedral with quite exceptional powers on such occasions.

Pope Boniface VIII. (1294-1303) availed himself of these circumstances; and the growing belief throughout Christendom, that the wearer of the triple crown was the only certain mediator between heaven and earth, to institute an absolution, *en masse*, and thus became the inventor of the Great Year of Jubilee, which was to bring uncounted millions into the papal exchequer.* The reader will, doubtless, recal the great centenary festival kept by the Romans †,—their *Ludi Sæculares*,—

of faith. The celebrated theologian, Raimundus, first discovered or invented this dogma in the twelfth century.* The popes having such inestimable stores of good works thus funded for distribution, it naturally ensued that the bishops could but poorly compete with them in the popular favour.

* The Jubilee was also named the "Great Absolution Year," the "Great Year of Grace," the "Holy Year." The last title is still employed. Its fittest was, perhaps, the "Gold-bringing Year," "*Annus Aurifer*;" for no richer gold stream had ever existed in the world.

† It is possible that Boniface had also the Jewish year of jubilee in his mind, which, after every seven times seven years, had been solemn-

* Mosheim attributes it to Thomas Aquinas.—*Trans.*

when, during three days, the gods were propitiated with sacrifices and the people amused with public games. Pope Boniface studied history to good effect, if this heathen festival suggested to him the idea of announcing that, in the year 1300, he should hold a Great Year of Indulgences ; and that all persons coming to Rome, who for fifteen consecutive days visited the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, would receive a full and complete remittance of all their misdeeds. This absolution was to be without any exception, even for the worst sinners, who by it might be purified from every taint of crime. He further ordained, that all penitents residing in Rome or its immediate neighbourhood might enjoy the same privileges, on condition of continuing their pious visits to the churches during thirty instead of fifteen days ; and, finally, that this great jubilee should take place once every century. The Great Year thus offered the whole world an opportunity of slipping out of its sins, and starting afresh,—pure as an infant just sprinkled with baptismal water.*

nized. But the Hebrew celebration was of a totally different character to the "Year of Indulgence." Moses ordained that all debts should be annulled, after every fiftieth year, slaves declared free, and all engagements cancelled ; and thus effected a kind of communism. The papal jubilee had, on the contrary, no political tendency, only a religious or financial one, and was originally fixed for once only in each century.

* The pope declared in his Bull, announcing the Jubilee (we translate literally) :—"It is proven by ancient traditions, that those persons who might seek the venerated church of the chief of the apostles at Rome, received thereby great pardons and indulgences ; and as we are most heartily concerned for the eternal salvation and welfare of mankind, which is in the charge of our vicegerency, so we herein fully consent to the said indulgences and pardons, authorise them by apostolic power, and re-establish them. And for the glory of God, and the honour

Pity that the idealism of the sacred festival was so coarsely at variance with the results. Alas ! Boniface thought very little of the "glory of God," or the "honour of His apostles," when he invited all Christendom to Rome : but he had discovered a new means of serving the carnal instincts of his office, the ambition of his family, and his own love of notoriety. He appointed the commencement of the Jubilee on Christmas eve, to thus perpetuate the anniversary of his election ; and, during its continuance, exhibited himself to the assembled thousands, dressed in robes of imperial purple ; attended processions, preceded by attendants bearing two great swords of state, and solemnly exclaimed as he went : "Behold, O Peter, thy successor ! and Thou, Thy vicerent, O Saviour of the world !" We have the evidence of two contemporary witnesses on the material advantages resulting to the church from the Jubilee.* Villani the historian, considered that not less than 200,000 persons were present at its opening ; and cardinal Capitan estimated the gifts, in copper coins alone, placed in the crypts of St. Peter's and St. Paul's, as amounting in

of His two holy apostles, which may be attained the more fully the more often the chief churches at Rome are visited by believers, so we, in the present year of grace, 1300 from the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in every successive centenary thereof, do ordain, by the mercy of Almighty God, by the council of our brethren, and in the fulness of apostolic authority, not only a full and entire pardon for all those who shall devoutly seek these churches, but accord to them a further plenary indulgence for all sins they may subsequently commit," &c.

* About 1,200,000 pilgrims visited Rome during the first Jubilee ; and as each was bound to stay at least a fortnight that the pilgrimage might have its proper effect, we may form some conception of the business and bustle there must have been in hostelry, hospital, and private house, that year.

value to 50,000 gold florins. If the pence offered by the poor amounted to such a sum, what must have been the total, with the gold and silver of wealthy believers? We can feel no surprise the succeeding popes found a centenary jubilee far too long deferred; and that Clement VI. (1342) diminished the interval to fifty years: his holiness remarking,—“man’s life is but a span, and few can hope to see a hundred years.” The second Jubilee took place in 1350, and proved even more fruitful than the earlier celebration. Between Christmas and Easter 1,000,000 pilgrims entered Rome; from Ascension day to Whitsunday, 800,000; and 300,000 during the later months. The profits to the princes of the church were enormous, so that pope Urban VI. (1378-89) felt that even fifty years was too long, and suggested that thirty-three, as representing the age of the Saviour, would be much more fitting. He ordained the periodical pardoning, therefore, to be held every thirty-third year, but died before one could be celebrated. It fell, in 1390, under his immediate successor, Boniface IX. (1389-1404), who had the pleasure of welcoming among his other illustrious visitors, the wealthy Count Serravon, with his train of four hundred retainers. The same pope Boniface kept the fourth Jubilee (in 1400), the centenary of the first; and again the eternal city was as fully thronged with pilgrims from all corners of the earth, though but ten years had passed since a general absolution. Unhappily, a plague broke out, which daily carried off seven or eight hundred persons, and this soon put the pardon seekers to flight. The fifth Jubilee took place under Martin V. (1423), at

thirty-three years from the last. The sixth, under Nicholas V. (1450), at fifty years. But some disorder threatened to arise in the varying length of these intervals, to the injury of the admirable speculation; and Paul II. (1464-71) settled that, from henceforth, the Jubilee should be celebrated every twenty-fifth year; and this rule held good up to modern times. The seventh anniversary was held by Sixtus IV., 1475; the eighth, in 1500, by Alexander VI.; the ninth, 1525, by Clement VII., &c., &c. Nor was war, nor any other circumstance, allowed to cause a postponement. The number of pilgrims varied very slightly, except during the epoch of the Reformation and during the Thirty Years' War; and though kings and queens were not always among the visitors to the wonder-working shrines, as in 1475* and 1675, yet monarchs sent ambassadors extraordinary in honour of the great event, and people of the highest rank mingled, *incogniti*, with the devout crowd, which included, in 1650,† not a few Protestant nobles and anti-Catholic personages of note.

A glimpse at the manner in which the year of Jubilee was kept at Rome may well detain us for a moment. Announcement of the coming anniversary of Plenary Indulgence was made by special Bull, published through-

* In 1475, king Ferdinand of Naples, Christian of Denmark, queen Carola of Cyprus, and Catherine of Bosnia, were of the number. In 1675, queen Christina of Sweden, then newly converted, was present at the opening of the festival, devoutly kneeling by the side of Clement X.

† In 1650 (that is, just at the close of the Thirty Years' War), the number of pilgrims were estimated at 3000, among whom were many German, English, and French princes and nobles, who, notwithstanding their heresies, were very welcome to the Romans, as they came with well-lined purses.

out Christendom some months before the celebration commenced. In Rome the Bull was always read on Ascension Day, from a pulpit erected for the purpose in front of St. Peter's, with joyous accompaniment of drums and trumpets. On the following Sunday the glad tidings were repeated in all the chief churches of Rome; and in all the public squares there were copies of the Bull affixed in Italian and Latin. A few weeks later the pope sent a "Bull of suspension" to the Catholic bishops of Christendom, by which all absolutions were declared void during the year of Jubilee, except those pronounced at Rome; all special power of indulgence granted to particular churches was also withdrawn for the same period, so that no one could entertain the hope of saving the expense and trouble of the journey, by making their peace with heaven at home. When the faithful had thus been forewarned, all kings and sovereign princes were commanded to take heed the roads towards Rome were in good condition, and save from robbers and evil disposed persons who might endanger the peace and safety of the pious travellers. At the same time the pope issued the very important commissariat directions, that the capital might be sufficiently supplied, that no famine should await the million strangers soon to be gathered in it. Besides, private speculators would be sufficiently awake to the advantages promised by so vast a harvest; long ere appointed day all the city and its neighbourhood became the scene of the busiest excitement and preparation.

The opening of the Jubilee always takes place at early vespers on Christmas eve, the 24th December. The

pope, followed by his cardinals in full state, proceeds from his apartments in the Vatican to the Sistine chapel, where he is met by all the prelates and higher clergy, with the chief civil dignitaries of Rome. As he enters, thousands of wax tapers are lighted, and he prostrates himself before the host, and chants the "*Veni Creator Spiritus*," whilst the choir gives the responses, then is formed the most imposing procession the world can exhibit. In front, a priest chosen for his majestic stature, bears aloft a gigantic cross; he is followed by hundreds of the singers and musicians of the papal chapel; then come the government officials, the senate, foreign princes and nobles, royal ambassadors, ambassadors from grand masters of orders and brotherhoods (such as the Maltese, &c.), and the cardinals and clergy, all in their robes of highest state, and bearing thousands of wax candles and censers. At length the pope himself appears, wearing the triple crown, sparkling with a thousand gems, a heavy diamond cross upon his breast, and a ceremonial robe of inestimable value. Sixteen black robed attendants bear his silver sceptre—type of his temporal sovereignty; he himself is carried aloft on a throne, like some dread eastern sultan; a canopy is held over his head, and—ever and anon he gently motions with his right hand, when the multitudes on either side kneel reverently in the dust to receive his blessing. Slowly and solemnly to the monotonous chanting of the choir the pope advances towards St. Peter's, the largest of churches, within whose walls 50,000 penitents may obtain standing room; but, behold, every entrance to the

holy precincts is fast closed, and the gate through which the vicegerent of Christ should pass, inexorably walled up: walled up with veritable stones, so that ingress seems an impossibility. This particular door, from the purpose to which it is devoted, is called "The Sacred," or, frequently, the "Golden;" perhaps from the gold crown which adorns it, or perhaps because more money is brought through it than passes across any other threshold in the world. As soon as the pope arrives here he descends from his throne, and at once seats himself on another placed in readiness near the "Golden Portal."

When the Holy Father has recovered breath, and exhibited himself to the people for a little time with a great wax taper in his hand, he takes a silver gilt hammer from an attendant, and after a short prayer, pronounced on his knees, the successor of St. Peter advances to the walled entrance, strikes the first blow on it, chanting, "Open unto me the door of righteousness." The choir replies:—"That I may enter, and give praise unto the Lord." The second blow is dealt, the pope chanting "I will pray unto Thee with humbleness of heart in Thy holy temple;" he raises his hand for the third blow, and as it descends chants "Open thou the gates, for the Lord is with us;" and with the voice of triumph the choir replies:—"The Lord God of Israel hath given the victory;" at the same moment the stones that blocked up the entrance fall down—pulled down, in fact, by unseen masons within, who at once set to work, and clear the rubbish out of the way. The pope again seats himself, and chants, "O Lord hear my prayer."

The choir, "And let my supplication reach unto Thee." The pope, "The Lord be with you." Choir, "And with thy spirit."

When the masons have finished their operations, the Holy Father kneels and prays; the choir immediately commences the hundredth psalm, "Praise the Lord all ye lands," whilst the *pœnitentarii** advance, bearing holy water; with which to wash the threshold, and every part of the now open "Sacred Portal." This process requires some time, so it is piously employed; the pope chanting "This is the day of the Lord." Choir, "Let us rejoice on His day." Pope, "Blessed are the people." Choir, "Who rejoice." Pope, "This is the gate of the Lord." Choir, "Through which the righteous enter." The pope then pronounces the following prayer:—"O God, who didst command Thy people Israel, through Thy servant Moses, to keep sacred the year of Jubilee, graciously grant unto us Thy servants that we may worthily begin this present year of Jubilee, which hath been instituted by Thy authority, and for which Thou hast been pleased to open this portal for Thy people, that they may enter to make their supplications unto Thee, and as we remit all their sins, so in the same grace, when our day of reckoning cometh, may we attain to eternal joy, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

When the Holy Father has concluded this prayer, a crucifix is presented him, and he advances through the holy door, chanting the "Te Deum," the whole choir

* The *pœnitentarii* are the "conscience guardians" of the bishops. The pope has his especial "conscience guardian"—the grand penitentiary, who is always a cardinal.

immediately joining. He has scarcely entered, when a company of throne-bearers, dressed in purple robes, advance towards him; he takes his place on the velvet-covered chair they carry, and is then solemnly borne to the foot of the high altar; then descending, he sinks on his knees to pray, rises, takes his place on the throne which has been erected for him, and chants the vespers which are sung in every Roman Catholic church on Christmas eve. At their close the ceremonies for the day are over, and the pope, accompanied by all his clergy, returns to the palace, to repose after his devout labours.

In such solemn wise is the great Jubilee inaugurated in St. Peter's; the same ceremonies—opening of the “sacred portals,” &c., take place in the three other principal churches, St. Paul, St. John Lateran, and Santa Maria Maggiore, with the sole difference that instead of the pope, three cardinals, especially empowered by him, handle the silver-gilt hammers, and open the mystic gates; in one word, repeat the part performed by his holiness.*

Strangers have thus full opportunity to witness the solemnity; and, indeed, pious ceremonials and endless processions occupy the whole year, for how else could

* Boniface VIII. instituted these ceremonies only at the churches of Sts. Peter and Paul. Clement VI. (1350) added the third principal religious edifice, St. John Lateran, and Urban VI., Santa Maria Maggiore. All four were distinguished during the year of pardon by a gilded door. Later popes have added three other churches, where, during the blessed period, plenary absolution may be secured: Holy Cross (Santa Croce in Gerusalemme,) St. Lorenzo, fuori delle mure, and St. Sebastiano (alle Catacombe). Thus there are seven churches where humanity may clear off all its sins during the Jubilee, though only four of these have a “golden portal.”

all these devout penitents occupy themselves but in going from church to church, and lingering wherever a religious celebration was offered to their attention. What else had the pope, the cardinals, all the clergy of Rome to do but put in practice all the fascinations of the clerical toilette, and constantly prepare new allurements to bring the backsliding children of men into the fold, to induce even more visitors to come, and make those already there, unwilling to depart. Among the various attractions offered in the capital of Christendom were some of a nature we dare not venture to particularize, though we may observe, in parenthesis, that no fewer than a hundred thousand ladies light o' love on some occasions found their way thither, alas! not for repentance merely; and in no less number were the vagabonds, beggars, sharpers, gamblers, and pimps, who were naturally loth to lose their chance of gleaning, when the church gathered in the harvest; thus pilgrims, who had occupied the day in prayers, confession, almsgiving, bead-telling, and such pious exercises, was at no loss to find relaxation from them in the evening.

“ In Rome you may buy both Heaven and Hell,
Clerks, and priests, and bishops as well,
E'en the meek nun hid away in her cell!
Who'd buy, who'd buy, let him hither wend,
Though the bargain I trow will prove bad in the end.”

All the processions and festivities draw to their conclusion as the following Christmas approaches, and on the same day of the month, the 24th of December, on which it commenced, the Jubilee is brought to a close. Again, a vast procession moves from the Vatican to

St. Peter's: again, thousands of wax tapers and censors flame or smoke before the sacred relics and holy pictures, the Holy Father extends his right hand in benediction over the multitude, and the closing nearly reproduces the inauguratory ceremony, only its intent is reversed, and the "golden door" is walled up instead of being opened. The procession, with the pope at its head, after vespers have been sung, proceeds to the sacred portal, where mortar, sand, and stones lie in readiness. The pope sprinkles the materials with holy water, —perfumes them with incense, then, tying a white cloth round his waist, takes the silver trowel from the Grand Pœnitentiary, solemnly lays three stones, sprinkles them with mortar, then places a casket with coins and medals in the newly-commenced wall, and seats himself on the throne whilst the masons proceed with the work, and the choir sing the 122nd and 127th Psalms. When the wall is finished the pope blesses the people, and accords them plenary absolution once more; intones the "Te Deum," then returns to his palace through the thousands who line the streets to witness the last act of the Holy Year—the Jubilee is over.

Thus was the famous year of pardon kept at Rome in earlier times, and as none of the multitude of pilgrims, beggars or vagrants not excepted, ever presented themselves with empty hands, and thousands brought half their fortunes with them to be spent on this supreme occasion, so we may well imagine how richly the Romans profited by it at the cost of the devotees,* and

* "Men and women (says the devout Catholic Vinzentius, 1451) are utterly ruined on the pilgrimage to Rome; those who went forth honest,

how many thousand scudi were deposited at the offertories to be safely transferred to the pope's exchequer.

Once in twenty-five years might well seem too seldom for papal patience; indeed, would not an annual jubilee have best suited the tastes of St. Peter's representatives?

The present "benevolent" pope has actually reduced it to six years. He announced a jubilee for Nov., 1851, and his last in Sep., 1857.

Happily, the Holy Fathers had tact enough to make the twenty-four, apparently condemned to barrenness, not less profitable than the twelve months so especially favoured. However great was the multitude that sought Rome in the "year of pardon," and though the popes seized every excuse for instituting an "extraordinary" one,* there were yet many of the faithful who were unable to go to Rome, however much they might long for the privileges offered them there. As these penitents were often able to pay well for remission, it would have been too obdurate to have left them in their sins:

returned with honesty quite lacking; and all family interests suffer great injury. Many there are who abandon their professions, or crafts, or husbandry, to the sore loss of their households, which are full oft brought to beggary. The while they pretend to serve God, they waste their time in idleness and folly to the damage of themselves and others. So monstrous hath this infatuation grown, that women secretly quit their husbands and children, or flee from their parents, forgetting all the duties imposed by God and nature, to pursue a shadow which shall ruin them body and soul."

* Paul III. decreed an extraordinary year of Jubilee, in 1542, in honour of the Council of Trent. Paul IV. (1555), for the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in England; a third was held by Gregory XIII. (1572), to celebrate the Bartholomew Massacre; and Paul (1617) offered one to the Catholic world, because the Protestants were celebrating the hundredth anniversary of their heresy.

Clement VI.* (1342-52) ordained that any person who could not conveniently visit Rome, might still enjoy all the advantages of the pilgrimage on paying to the secretary of the papal exchequer the same amount that the journey would have cost when made in a style befitting the giver's rank ;—a bold idea, and a most successful one ; for many of those who sat in high places were willing enough to supply themselves with plenary absolution from the pope,* when it was merely a question of taxing their subjects for it.

Kings† and high potentates eagerly sought these “letters of indulgence,” though their price was right royal ; but such letters were given not to the great ones of the earth alone, Rome would have scorned such an injustice ; all men were equally enabled to avail themselves of the boon. Pope Boniface IX. (1389-1404) despatched, in 1391, special collectors to every Christian kingdom with powers to grant all persons who, through sickness, urgent business, or other causes, might be prevented from attending the Jubilee that year, a full and complete absolution on receipt of a sum in fitting accordance with their property or yearly income. So sprang up the traffic in indulgences ; and how great were the profits of the new speculation we learn from

* This exemplary pope, who claimed equal authority in Heaven, Purgatory, and Hell, directed, in a Bull published for the occasion (*cum natura humana*), that the angels should immediately bear the souls of those who died on the way from Rome to Heaven without any delay in Purgatory, “for the Holy Father would not suffer that the very least among the pilgrims should endure the slightest pain from the fiery purification.”

† The monarchs of England and Portugal, for example, in 1390.

a contemporary witness, the pious historian Theodor of Vienna: "Like sea robbers, the papal pardon mongers plundered Christendom, and no one, not even the most notorious sinners and evil livers, were refused absolution. Every crime could be annulled at a fixed price, not only without penance, but even without a promise of repentance; and if a man or woman had no coin withal to close the bargain, the pardoner would contentedly go off with horses, or pigs, cattle, or sheep, yea, even household chattels, by way of payment." No more profitable business could have been contrived by human ingenuity; many provinces, not a fourth of the papal states in extent, were thus made to yield 100,000 gold florins annually. Pope Eugenius IV. (1431-47), according to the testimony of Francis Duarenius, his contemporary, drew in one year 200,000 crowns from France alone. How great, then, must have been the amount derived from the other states of Europe, especially devout Germany?

The Popes were naturally anxious to systematise this pardon traffic, and so they established a special ministry for its superintendence. Calixtus III. (1435-58) took the first steps thereto, and succeeded in effecting the necessary measures, by the assistance of deacon Martin da Fregeno, whom he appointed General Commissioner of this branch of the revenue. Martin had the true inspiration of genius in his profession: dividing Europe into various districts, the pardon-buying capabilities of each being tabulated according to previous experience, he farmed each district to a "Commissioner of Pardons" (generally a bishop or archbishop), either for a

fixed yearly rental or for the half or third of the net proceeds. The commercial celebrities of the time (such as the Fuggers of Augsburg), when willing to give better terms than the ecclesiastical speculators, or when they had out-standing claims on Rome, were often allowed contracts for the pardon-supply of one or more provinces. The Pardon Commissioners entrusted the disposal of their merchandise to subordinate priestly agents, entitled "Pardoners" * (*indulgentiarii*), and generally chose men whose broad humour and utter shamelessness might have made their fortune as itinerant quacks and mountebanks.

Benedictines, Dominicans and Franciscans, proved the most apt for the business ; many among them acquired no little notoriety, by their skill in drawing the coin from their penitents' pockets. The manner in which the pardoners announced themselves was characteristic enough ; and great was the inventive power they developed in pushing their trade. When any one of them proposed visiting a city, he sent a servant in advance, to announce his coming to the higher civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and inform them of the day and hour of his arrival. No little rivalry would ensue for the honour of first welcoming the distinguished guest, who indeed might anticipate a very brilliant reception and the most generous hospitality. Priests, monks,

* The *indulgentiarii* were generally as lax in the observance of the seventh commandment as in all the other decencies of life. Many among them were accompanied by professional prostitutes, or travelled in company with a favoured mistress, and various "nephews and nieces." They were jovial companions at drinking bouts or any kind of revelry, and owed to this great part of their influence with the lower classes.

nuns, burgomaster, town councillors, heads of colleges and their scholars, and especially pious womenkind of all classes,—went forth, singing hymns of rejoicing, with flags waving and tapers burning, to welcome the forgiver of sins, whilst the armed citizens lined the road by which he would approach. When he at length makes his appearance, it is not as a meek, bare-footed friar, but in full sacerdotal grandeur,—as one having authority over heaven, hell and purgatory. First, advances an attendant bearing aloft a great flame-coloured cross, on which the keys of St. Peter (the papal arms) are painted; then, in a chariot, drawn by two horses, and especially devoted to the purpose, comes the chest,* containing the pardon-letters, and the cash for those already disposed of. Then, in an open chariot, follows the great Pardoner himself, dressed in his most sumptuous mass-robes. By his side, on a cushion of velvet and gold brocade, the coffer, containing the Bull of Indulgence, authorising the distribution of pardons. As soon as the procession has wound under the city gates, all the church bells ring out their most joyous peals; and so the holy man is borne solemnly and slowly towards the cathedral. As his foot passes the sacred threshold, the organ rolls forth its eloquent thunder, his great flame-coloured cross is erected in front of the altar, and the coffer, with the papal Bull of Indulgence, placed on the altar itself.

* The chest was generally made of wood, clasped with iron, and bore the papal arms and six bosses with the triple crown, and the distich:

“Lo! when the money rings in the chest,
The soul from the flames flies forth to rest”—

Was often engraved on the lid.

The Pardoner takes his place on the right, where a chair of state and canopy have been provided in his honour, and after blessing the people, informs them of the authority for the remittance of sins with which he has been invested; so that, "were St. Peter himself present, he could have no completer power." Then follows the "pardon preaching,"—the recommendation of the "letters" from the pulpit. The preacher draws the most appalling pictures of the horrors and pains of purgatory, until the blood of his hearers runs cold. When he has played sufficiently on their fears, he turns to the delights of heaven, and employs his imagination so well upon them that the sensual allurements he conjures up could be with difficulty surpassed.

"Papal indulgence alone can free the sinner from purgatory; the indulgence alone open heaven for him. Verily, this indulgence hath so supreme a power that, had a man violated his own mother, yea, the mother of God, it would yet save him."* "It is not repentance that makes you free from sin,—the indulgence alone can do this;"—the indulgence, which was to be sold for hard cash, and which would make every purchaser "as pure as Adam before the fall." When the congregation is worked on to the right tone, and properly excited, he advances to the iron-bound strong box, and benignly invites his hearers to avoid the penalties and secure the beatitudes he has described, by providing themselves with a certificate of indulgence.

* Such, at least, was the declaration of Tetzel, whom Luther has made notorious for all time.

A distinction was made between general pardons * and those granted for special sins ; the former included all the evil deeds of the penitent, and cost, in the case of kings and queens, royal princes, archbishops, bishops, and reigning princes, twenty-five gold florins ; for lesser church dignitaries,—counts, barons, and others of the higher nobility, ten ; to lower members of the aristocracy, six ; to wealthy merchants and professional men, three ; for humble chapmen and peasants, one. For still poorer folks, the price was left at the discretion of the pardoner ; and to those who could not even beg or borrow a brass farthing for their soul's redemption, he was empowered to give the certificate gratis.† If any one felt a general pardon scarcely adequate to their need by reason of some heavy sin, he might seek a private interview with the dispenser of salvation ; and having agreed on the price, and paid it, depart with a special letter of remission, drawn up on parchment, and specifying the particular crime from which the possessor was relieved. Indeed, for every class of sin a special tariff was prepared ; so that, before it was committed, the cost of its redemption might be known. According to pope Leo X., “*taxa sacræ pœnitentiariæ*,” sodomy

* These certificates were generally printed upon writing paper, and bore the figure of a monk with a long beard and rosary, and holding a large cross ; above him a crown of thorns, and a fiery heart surrounded by a glory ; in the upper corners, the two nail-transfixed hands, in the lower, the feet of the crucified Christ. A blank was left for the name of the purchaser. In Hoffman's life of Tetzl, the reader will find a facsimile of one of these letters.

† Instructions on these points, drawn up by the great Farmer of indulgences, bishop Albert, of Mayence, are still extant ; and others, by Arcimboldi, General Commissioner of pardons.

cost from ninety gold gulden; sacrilege, perjury, and robbery, from thirty-six; parricide, and murder generally, from thirty; bigamy and adultery, from twenty-four; witchcraft and magic, from six; homicide and incendiarism, from four, &c., &c. Of course these fines were modified according to the means of the offender. For release from purgatory it was customary to demand as much as the deceased person would have expended in a week at his usual style of living. So; a poor man could be sent to heaven for a few groats, whilst a rich one only at the cost of some hundreds or thousands of broad pieces. Thus was the pardon traffic conducted. From the slight sketch which we are alone able to give in these pages, the reader can conceive the magnificent subsidy it must have brought to Rome:—the productiveness of the infamous system lay in the utter demoralisation of the time, of which it was at once the origin and excuse. Murder, adultery, perjury, theft, could all be atoned for at the cost of so much money; and thus the very basis of human morality was in danger of destruction, though the results which in the end ensued from this trafficking with iniquity were little in accordance with those anticipated by its inventors,—results, which gave the deepest wound to the papal power, armed Dr. Martin Luther with his most effective weapons, and brought on the Reformation.*

* In very early days, many princes and rulers resolutely set their faces against this out-flow of treasure, Romeward. Charles VI., of France, for example, forbade his subjects to avail themselves of the Great Jubilee of 1400. Duke Henry the Rich, of Bavaria, did to his the same, declaring: "they could as well earn God's pardon while staying at home as by going to Rome for it." Christian I. of Denmark, in 1469,

But our purpose is not to investigate the details ; enough, if we have indicated the inexhaustible sources of wealth which the keys of St. Peter had given access to. Content, however, did not follow, and the papal divining rod was ever employed in searching for new veins of gold ; and of these lucrative studies we must give some sketch in our last chapter on this theme.

adopted a different course : he offered no opposition to Martin da Fregano when that astute priest came to charm the money out of Danish pockets ; but as soon as all attainable had been secured, the King ordered him to be arrested, and neither threats nor entreaties availed to obtain his freedom until he consented to share half the booty with his royal captor. Christian II. acted still more severely ; he laid an embargo on all money and goods obtained by Arcimboldi, Commissioner General of Pardons, and thus mulcted the pope of 4,000,000 gold florins to the good of the royal treasury. Others, among whom we may mention bishop John VI. of Saalhausen, exerted all their influence against the pardon traffic on moral grounds. The most effectual practical joke on the subject was, perhaps, that played at the cost of the notorious Tetzl. In 1517 he had set up his booth at Leipsig, and there a Saxon noble bought, for twenty thalers, a plenary absolution for all the sins he might in future commit. Not long afterwards, Tetzl left Leipsig and was attacked in a forest by his late client, who not only made treasure trove of the Pardoner's strong box, but beat him severely, stript him of his clothes, and left him naked in the road to shift as he best could. Tetzl, of course, went back in a rage to Leipsig, and brought his case before duke George of Saxony, who at once summoned his vassal to answer the accusation, when the latter proved he had provided himself, before the act, with a plenary pardon. The Duke seems to have enjoyed the smartness of the trick ; and Tetzl had to put up with his loss, and the ridicule besides. So were crimes, and absolution of crimes, then regarded.

CHAPTER VI.

PAPAL GREED.

No little embarrassment besets us in writing this chapter. We scarcely know where it should begin, or where end; the material of which we can but so scantily avail ourselves, might well furnish as many volumes as we can grant it pages. John of Salisbury, afterwards bishop of Chartres, told pope Hadrian IV. (1154-59), his personal friend, when the latter begged him to say frankly in what manner the world judged the popes? "People declare, Holy Father (was his reply), that the successors of the apostles do wholly set their hearts on costly furniture and raiment, and that their delight is in beholding their banquets furnished forth with gold and silver plate, and for it they would rob the very churches; people declare they crave the administration of the laws, not for the sake of justice, but for their own shameful gains, and that anything can be bought in Rome for money. People say they plunder whole provinces, as though their object were to acquire the wealth of a Cræsus, and that they carnally delight in purple and fine linen, yea, more than any earthly potentate. Verily I have heard the popes likened unto Beelzebub himself, who men think doth well if he but cease to do evil."

Such was the evidence given by John of Salisbury, one of the most learned and devout of Catholic theologians. The proof of its truth, or, rather, of its extenuating moderation, is afforded by the fact, that Pope John XXII. (1316-34), the son of a cobbler (and therefore assuredly not burdened by ancestral wealth), left as personal property at his death, 18,000,000 ducats, and 17,000,000 ducats worth in valuables, jewels, vases, &c., &c.,* all amassed by shameless fraud or violence. To understand the character of this revenue, we must consider it somewhat more in detail; we must observe the distinctions to be drawn between the regular and extraordinary sources of supply; though, of course, Their Holinesses employed their whole ingenuity to turn any temporary financial expedient into an established tax. We will first consider the regular sources; they were, naturally, the most productive, and came to represent, in fact, a fixed income.

One of the most important items were the "pallium" moneys, an usurious tribute, the origin of which may probably be unknown to the majority of our readers. Constantine the Great had been baptised at the beginning of the fourth century, and both he and his Christian successors endeavoured to obtain the goodwill of the bishops in all the principal cities of the empire, such as Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, Alexandria, &c., and sought to retain it by according

* This enormous inheritance is comparatively much greater when we consider it was amassed during the exile in Avignon, whilst the whole of the papal states had renounced their allegiance, were in open rebellion, and furnished no part of the papal revenue.

them a great show of respect. Among other things, they were accustomed to present the good fathers with a robe of honour ("orders" were not then invented), consisting in a mantle of the finest wool, adorned with gold embroidery. In the fifth century the bishops (or patriarchs as they were then called) of Constantinople and Rome adopted the imperial observance, and frequently sent to their suffragan bishops, on their assuming office, a like mantle of honour, though not without the previous permission of the emperor.

Naturally, the prelates who received this mark of preference were not unwilling to acknowledge it by substantial proofs of gratitude; to neglect to do so, would but have invited its speedy resumption. Indeed, only those who had already distinguished themselves by devotion to the interests of their spiritual head, could ever anticipate receiving this supreme favour.*

The pallium originated in this robe of honour, and from a temporal, soon became solely an ecclesiastical "decoration"—if we may so term it—and a further means of binding the recipient to the papacy. When the Western Empire gradually sank to its final disintegration, and Italy, and Rome especially, sought release from longer dependence on the Byzantine Empire, the Roman bishops assumed the right of presenting the mantle, without any imperial authorisation asked or bestowed, and accorded the gift in the plenitude of their own authority. Petitions for it were constantly preferred; for every dignitary of the church longed to be-

* Virgilius, who held St. Peter's keys from 538 to 544, was the first Roman bishop who bestowed the pallium.

hold himself possessed of the decoration. The metropolitans* (the archbishops of later times), asserted it had been from of old enjoyed by their episcopal predecessors, and based their own claim, so to say, on the ground that the pallium would but fittingly distinguish them from the mere bishops. This thirsting for pomps and vanities ecclesiastic, the popes had too much tact not to employ to their own advantage, and they ordained that every one on assuming the title of "Metropolitan," should also receive the robe of honour. Such was the decision of Zacharias (741-52), emphatically reasserted by Nicholas I. (858-67), Gregory VII. (1073-86), and Innocent III. (1198-1216); whilst they all positively declared the metropolitan dignity indissolubly bound up with this typical garment, and therefore no metropolitan or archbishop could exercise his office before receiving its investiture from the pope.

For some time an occasional archbishop was found to contest this assumption, and as late as the tenth century, we find several who exercised their spiritual authority without the Roman legitimation; but as a rule, it became an established custom for the prelates of the Western church to accept the pallium, which at once marked them out from the lower dignitaries, and made patent their own peculiar rank.

Thus smoothly was the growing ambition of the popes facilitated. Gregory VII. ordained that each newly-appointed metropolitan should go in person to Rome for investiture, with his robe of office, or within three

* We shall speak at greater length on this subject in a subsequent book—"Pope and Humility."

months dispatch thither a plenipotentiary to receive it in his name. The same pontiff decreed that every one honoured with the pallium should take an oath of fealty to Rome, acknowledging himself a vassal of the papal crown. Thus the dogma was established that the possession of the pallium gave the title of archbishop, and the "*plenitudo officii pontificalis*" (all the prerogatives of the office), a dogma still acknowledged by the Catholic church.

But the pallium is no longer the gorgeous gold-broidered purple robe the emperors bestowed; such a present would be far too costly for the successors of the apostles to indulge in; they have with discreet economy replaced it by an article which can pretend to no value whatever, except through the pious ceremonies to which it is submitted.

The modern pallium, as it has existed since the twelfth century, is merely a fine white woollen band, two inches in width, with a cross embroidered in black silk, and from which hang two other bands over the shoulders of the wearer. A very unpretending decoration; but the more solemn is its manner of manufacture, over which, indeed, the papal sub-deacon has strict and especial charge. Annually, on St. Agnes Day, 21st January, in the church dedicated to the fair saint,* two snow-white lambs are offered at the high altar, not slain, but laid upon it, with their feet tied, to prevent unseemly recal-

* "*Santa Agnese fuori di Porta pia,*" is the full title of this church, which adjoins the St. Agnes convent. The high altar there is peculiarly holy. "For the very holiness of Christ himself is held within it."

citance, and so they may receive its especial sanctity. When they have been blessed by the officiating priest, they are gently delivered back to the sub-deacon of St. Peter's,* who then transfers them to the convent garden of St. Agnes, where they remain until shearing time. The same holy man shears them, and confides the fleece to the nuns, they having spun it as fine as possible, then fabricate the pallium bands, which are given to the deacon, who, after consecrating them, leaves them on the graves of St. Peter and St. Paul, during two succeeding nights, after which they are transferred to a casket, placed on a seat in St. Peter's, once used by its patron apostle, and there they remain until accorded to the archbishops by the pope.

Such is the reverent care with which the pallii are prepared; but the reader may feel some curiosity wherefore the popes should insist on endowing their chief hierarchs with this peculiar gift. The explanation is only too simple: the popes bestow no honours that are not solidly repaid.

Whilst the pallium was still a costly mantle, no demand was ever founded upon it against the recipient; it was recognised as an honorary distinction and free

* The conveyance of the lambs to the church is accompanied with peculiar solemnities. The sub-deacon, who must always be provided with a sufficient flock, chooses two of the finest from among them, has them washed, packed in panniers swung over a horse, and instructs the attendant, who has them in charge, to proceed up the Via di Pietro, past the Vatican, whence it is supposed the holy father looks forth from a window, and blesses them as they are carried by. The procession which accompanies them grows as it proceeds, until by the time it reaches St. Agnes church, at the other side the city, its magnitude is sufficiently imposing.

gift. But even in very early times the gift was much abused. Pope Gregory I. found it necessary to issue a decree prohibiting the sale of the pallium, and Pope Zacharias declared it simony * to demand money on any pretext for it. Later popes discovered a more euphonious epithet, and though maintaining it was sinful to ask payment for the pallium, they qualified the condemnation by adding it was quite justifiable to receive a voluntary thanks-offering in return.

Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury mentions, in a letter still extant, that he had sent a "goodly" sum to Rome, on his investiture with the pallium, and that all former archbishops obtained it in the same wise, though the amount they paid varied with the wealth of the diocese. A century later the "gift" became an organized tax, and the mystic fillets were not bestowed until the fees for them had been fully liquidated; the popes had then attained the apogee of their power, and as no archbishop could "arrogate" his duties "without the pallium," Rome boldly replied: "therefore you shall buy the 'pallium' at my price." The popes carried the shamelessness of the traffic to the highest during the "exile" in Avignon (1307-1377). The charge for each pallium was in accordance with the wealth and importance of the see it represented, though 30,000 gold florins was the average price. Nor was one such payment often sufficient. Should the metropolitan wish to change his See, or

* The "Acts of the Apostles" tell us how Simon Magus sought to obtain the "gifts of the Holy Ghost" by bribing the apostles; from whence the attainment of spiritual offices through purchase is entitled simony. It has always been held a deadly sin by the church.

consent for any reason to be translated to another, the new pallium had to be redeemed by him at the same rate at which it had been first purchased. This remains a rule with the Roman church to the present day. When an archbishop dies he must carry this insignia with him into the grave, and leave his successor to provide himself with a new one. It was clearly the interest of the papacy to dispose of as many of these precious adornments as possible, whilst the death of each archbishop ensured so many thousand florins to the Roman treasury.

The popes soon found it desirable to regard the sale of the pallium as no simony, indeed to have refused so profitable an arrangement would have been held by them as an inexpiable sin, bringing, as it did, so magnificent a revenue for the glory of God. All Europe had its spiritual affairs under a multitude of archbishops, who, when chosen to their offices, were generally well stricken in years, and could not long retain the costly fleeces woven by Santa Agnes' nuns. The archiepiscopal see of Saltzberg in the seventeenth century had thrice to redeem its pallium within nine years, the transaction costing on each occasion 33,333 ducats; that of Mayence* alone, between the years 1200 and 1700, expended 3,000,000 gold florins in the same tribute. The moneys that

* The archbishops of Mayence never secured the pallium under 30,000 gold florins, and often were in no slight strait to get so large a sum together. Many of them borrowed it, at high interest, from the Jews; others, as Archbishop Albert, at the time of the Reformation, obtained it from the famous Fuggers, and mortgaged certain items of their revenue to liquidate the debt. Archbishop Manulph was a more acute financier; he amputated a leg from a gold image of Christ in the cathedral, melted it down, and so paid the pope for his new dignity.

flowed into Rome for these woollen trimmings might be reckoned not by millions only, but by millions told in thousands. Now and again the tribute was characterized in fitting terms of reprobation; the council of Bâle, for example (anno 1431), even went so far as to denounce the pallium money as an "usurious contrivance invented by the papacy," declared it illegal, and passed a decree by which all persons either giving or receiving it were pronounced liable to all the penalties involved by simony; but such a retrenchment was too cruel for the endurance of the popes who finally succeeded, thanks, in great part, to the astute bishop of Sienna (afterwards Pius II.), in inducing the feeble emperor, Frederick III., in 1448 to reinstitute the tax by his "Vienna Concordat." Since then it has remained undisturbed, and all the remonstrances, the usuriousness contrivance has given rise to, have had no other result than to restrain it within somewhat more decent limits. Wholly abrogated it will never be.*

A not less excellent means of supply was yielded in their time by the "Annatæ, or Annalia, Servitia communia," or "Jus depertuum," an invention of Pope John XXII., who reigned, as we have already seen, from 1316-34. A priest on receiving ordination had been accustomed from early times to offer some token of his gratitude to his elder brother in Christ, from whom he trusted to have received the Holy Spirit. The pope, however, gradually engrossed all the more important

* We are, unhappily, unable to give the present rate of the pallium fees, as the Roman Curia constantly modifies its demands according to external circumstances and requirements.

ordinations, and, at the same time, laid claim to the "presents," which became transformed into "Servitude" (obligatory fees). The first example of a demand of this kind is offered by Clement V., the predecessor of John XXII., who claimed a yearly tribute from the bishops of England in acknowledgment of their ordination. John XXII. went still further, asserting the right of the papal chair to a year's income of every see that fell vacant. Nor was this unreasonable: if the archbishops were obliged to pay for their pallium a sum of 26,000 to 30,000 gulden, it would surely not have been right to let the bishops and lesser dignitaries go scot free. Pope John astutely refrained from immediately enforcing the claim he asserted, and soon had the satisfaction of finding it generally recognised. So much tact did he bring to the work, that he even secured the full concurrence of the bishops themselves. He then bethought him this or that episcopal see, this or that archbishopric was too large for its spiritual welfare to be fittingly attended to by a single bishop, or archbishop, and proceeded to create many new ones. Numberless ecclesiastical aspirants thus obtained an outlook for speedy promotion, and were willing enough to sacrifice a year of its income (*annalia*) to secure it. The pope proceeded with the same pious activity against all pluralists: the abuses they fostered must be removed, for "the service of God suffered by them;" those who held several benefices were obliged to content themselves with one, giving up all the others; and once more the hopes of the preferment seekers found fruition only on sacrifice of the first year's income.

Such excellent experience had not been gained in vain, and the pope was soon enabled to carry out his idea still further. If a rich benefice fell to his disposal, he took care to transfer it to a person holding a somewhat less profitable charge, of course only on promise of the Annalia. The appointment made vacant was filled from a still inferior one, which had again to be supplied from a yet poorer; and thus the nomination to one important benefice often occasioned seven or eight promotions, though of course not one could be enjoyed without formal agreement to render the stipulated papal perquisites.

Such was the system inaugurated by John XXII., and, as it proved highly profitable, his successors were not only little disposed to renounce it, they took every means to perfect its organization, and to this end definitely fixed the average amount to be paid for each benefice in their gift. Here, as if by magic, was another mine of wealth opened up, which was destined to give its millions* to the papal coffers. Many bishops paid 20,000 florins for promotion; and however individual priests, monarchs, or states might rebel at the imposition, the annalia held their ground, and do so still.

All this was still insufficient; and the popes of the

* Both the annalia and the pallium fees were abolished by the Council of Bâle, and the demand or payment of them declared simony; but the Emperor Frederick III. (1448) again granted both perquisites to the popes, as part of their just revenue, and from that time they have been preserved by the Catholic church as one of its irrefragable rights. The apostolic chair still raises them, though they have been changed into a fixed tax. An important see now pays about 1,000 scudi; a smaller one, five or six hundred.

fifteenth century had the honour of inventing the "Letters of Reversion," presentation to offices and dignities in the church, which were still unvacated. To which particular pontiff the honour of this is due, we cannot say; but by the beginning of the sixteenth century the "Letters" were so numerous, that the practice must have long existed. Pope Alexander III. prohibited, through the "Lateran Council" (1169), that the presentation to any diocese or ecclesiastical office should be made during the life of the holder; from whence we may conclude the abuse had, even at that early date, begun to show itself. It grew up out of the traffic in benefices (*annalen*), with little trouble to its cultivators. There were always persons, as there always will be, who, having set their heart on this or that post, this or that dignity, were but too glad to secure it on the death of the actual occupant, by paying down a round sum. They naturally concluded, that as the pope took money for actual investiture, he would not object to sell its reversion; and thereupon, in all simplicity, proceeded to Rome, to conclude the bargain. They had not deceived themselves as to the good will of apostolic majesty; and in exchange for hard cash were soon furnished with the precious parchment securing the desired appointment as soon as it should fall vacant again. So there was a market in Rome where chickens were sold before the eggs were hatched! This trade was soon carried on as eagerly by the buyers as the sellers; the latter, however, always required the immediate payment of the purchase money, so that if the future presentee died before the actual incumbent, the presentation might be

sold over again. The presentee had, however, this advantage : no questions as to his worthiness for the office were asked ; no one demanded any proof of his fitness to fulfil its duties ;—he had but honestly to count down the required price, and the business was settled. The dullest, most ignorant, shameless, or demoralised person, needed no other recommendation than his own ready money. Germany and France swarmed with Italian priests (of course, Italians could most readily secure the ear of the pope) who had been appointed to benefices, though totally ignorant of the customs of their adopted land, or frequently not knowing one word of its language. Numberless people, having no claim whatever to the sacerdotal functions ;—old soldiers, itinerant quacks, mountebanks and such like, frequently got possession of these reversions, until the abuse reached a height of which we can form but slight conception, though it was still to be exceeded.

By the commencement of the sixteenth century the popes began to regard this chaffering with single presentations far too petty a speculation, and came to the conclusion it would be more profitable to farm out all the clerical appointments of a district, or even of a whole province, in a single contract. The traffic ceased to be carried on in detail at Rome : it was confided to certain agents, who undertook the distribution to individual purchasers. Of course, these agents were generally wealthy merchants, such as the Fuggers of Augsburg, or in some instances joint stock companies, who subscribed the heavy capital necessary for the investment. Of course, they could not sell for the same price at which they had bought,

and therefore disposed of their wares to the highest bidder, quite regardless what manner of man he might be.

So great a scandal had never been heard of in Christendom. No wonder the people at length were thoroughly exasperated by the iniquity. The holders of the "Letters of Reversion" were generally called "provisioners," from the French word *provision*,—a something received for a consideration. They were still more frequently known as "prostitutes," from their utter shamelessness; whilst they were liable to get very roughly handled by the flocks they had bought, who often enough, in defiance of the papal mandate, rose in indignant rebellion and drove the new shepherd ignominiously from the fold.*

* We could cite numberless instances in illustration of such proceedings. In 1484, a provisioner had purchased the reversion of a prebendary in Constantz. The old prebend died, and the provisioner prepared to assume his office; but the fellow's character was so notorious, that the very bishop sought the aid of the government to oppose him with force, if necessary. The assistance was at once accorded, "even though it were needed against the pope himself." Still more frequently the provisioner who made claim to this or that preferment was summoned before the town council, under pretence of formally making over his purchase to his ghostly care; instead of which, the deed of reversion which he had been required to produce was riddled with holes, then hung round his neck, a bucket of water soused over him, and then well belaboured by the sticks of his recalcitrant parishioners,—he was driven beyond the walls. In Zurich, as in Lucerne, all provisioners were formally denounced as "worthless fellows," "unlearned" and "unspiritual," and as such, for ever banished from beyond the precincts of those towns. It was further resolved there, that any person concerned in the sale of ecclesiastical reversions should be sewn up in a sack and drowned. This threat had the desired effect. The preferment-mongers turned their attention to other fields of enterprise. In Bavaria they could gain no footing,—they were formally and definitely forbidden to set foot on the territory. This example we find followed by several other German

Despite this resistance, the traffic still increased and spread, and indeed the supply would never have been exhausted, but for the decreasing demands of the market. The popes issued their letters of reversion, as often as before the Reformation; but a public opinion was at last gaining strength in Europe, and the purchasers could have no assurance they would ever be able to enjoy their bargains, and thus the trade fell into desuetude.*

Of the same nature as this ecclesiastical preferment, was the method of appointment to the various Civil and Court offices in Rome. There, too, was no dignity, lay or clerical, which could not be obtained, were but the aspirant's purse long enough. A list is yet extant, in which 651 places are noted down, with their selling price: those of the court proctors, registrars, revisors,

states, though in the most effectual manner by Wirtemberg, as the following anecdote aptly illustrates. Count Eberhardt (afterwards duke of Wirtemberg), visiting Rome on a journey through Italy, in 1481, naturally paid his respects to the pope, Sixtus V., who indignantly demanded if it were true, that "those who went to Wirtemberg with reversions granted at Rome, intending to take possession of their preferments, were incontinently carried on to the roof of their church and kept there until they either died of hunger or fell down from exhaustion, in which latter case their parchment was forced down their throat, and they were finally drowned?" The Duke unhesitatingly replied in the affirmative, and further assured His Holiness, that as long as he (Eberhardt) lived no provisioner should enter his land; "for if he suffered such a rascal, his subjects would believe him a bastard, begotten in a totally different manner to his forefathers." Then Pope Sixtus laughed, and said, "It is well they are not all Wirtembergers in Germany."

* With the exception of the office of coadjutor. It is still customary to appoint a spiritual colleague to a bishop who is likely to grow incapable of discharging the functions of his office; and this colleague always succeeds to the mitre, though he must possess all the canonical qualifications.

notaries, clerks, &c., &c. Even the running footmen and door porters of the papal palaces, though they could not be mulcted of much, still yielded their quota. This list is dated 1471, in the reign of the famous Sixtus IV.,* who by such means added an additional 100,000 ducats to his annual income. Sixtus cannot claim the whole glory of these discoveries; the same financial policy had been initiated by his predecessors, and was still greatly improved by those who came after him.

Far more productive than any local tax, were the marriage dispensations in cases of consanguinity, their action embracing all Christendom, and to this day they still yield no inconsiderable return. Under some of the popes they amounted to a million annually. It is a fundamental dogma of the Catholic church, that the marriage bond is indissoluble, whilst it not less strictly maintains that no marriage at all can take place within the seven prohibited degrees of affinity. How these two articles of faith grew up and were systematised, it is not our province to investigate. Our business is not with church dogma, but with the popes who employed them so well to their own advantage, when they used their absolute power to suspend their most solemn prohibitions whenever it suited their interests.

Marriage between near kindred, and divorce, were equally forbidden; but the popes rarely failed to waive their objections, whenever an applicant could pay for

* Apostolic majesty led another golden rill into the treasury, by the establishment of brothels in Rome; this was also effected under Sixtus, and produced a yearly return of 30,000 ducats. The same pontiff levied a tax upon priestly concubines.

dispensation. That the inviolability of the marriage sacrament was maintained at Rome on religious grounds, we have no justification for granting; history supplies a thousand instances where all the pious hindrances of the canon laws melted away under the universal solvent, gold; though the pope might firmly enough hold out until the full price for his favours were paid. Did not Pope Martin V. (1417-31) allow a wealthy petitioner to marry his own sister, though the authorisation, of course, cost an enormous sum?*

It is a notorious fact that Sixtus IV., to use the words of an old chronicler: granted to divers persons the privilege, for which they richly paid him, of solacing certain matrons, as in the absence of their lords. Of course, the poor or the avaricious could not profit by these arrangements; but there were always enough of the rich and noble, who were ready to sacrifice their ducats to their desires. The holy sacrament of marriage proved prolific of gold and silver to the successors of St. Peter.

But enough—the present chapter already exceeds its fitting limits, though we have still to recall a few of the more striking and successful examples of pontifical greed. Of the immense influence of excommunication in establishing the authority of ecclesiastical Rome, we have to speak in a later chapter; but it was not less useful in filling the papal coffers. To cite but a few

* This fact has been frequently contested, and, indeed, it may seem suspicious that the name of the applicant is no where cited; but as those who transmit the tale have been proved reliable in other instances, we can scarcely ignore their testimony.

instances :—Boniface VIII. (1294-1303) placed Frederick of Trinacria under the ban, for refusing an annual 3,000 ounces of gold as Peter's pence; but Benedict XI. (1303-4) relieved the king therefrom, on condition of his making over 1,000 ounces. Gregory IX. (1227-41) was enabled to distinguish himself far more effectually: Having excommunicated the Emperor Frederick II., because his majesty had not been able to commence a crusade at the stipulated time, he absolved him a few years later in consideration of a compliment in the form of 100,000 ounces of gold.* This pious zeal was devoutly followed by Clement V. (1305-16), who fulminated a Bull of excommunication of quite unexampled character against the Republic of Venice, for having refused to pay him fealty in the form of 20,000 ducats, for the city and province of Ferrara it had lately conquered; nor did he raise the ban until he had finally obtained 100,000 ducats.†

Numberless are the examples of a like kind, but we content ourselves with these; they sufficiently mark the manner in which the fearful prerogative of excommunication was employed as a fiscal resource. Indeed, the Holy Inquisition, of which we must subsequently speak,

* We must remember how vast this sum was, when at that period gold was worth at least tenfold its present value.

† The papal Bull of absolution is dated 26th January, 1313; an amicable understanding with Venice had, however, been come to in May, 1311, and the publication of the pardon was only so long deferred, because the Venetians, rich as their state then was, found the greatest difficulty in getting so vast a sum together. Pope Clement would have granted no credit "on any consideration." It is worthy remark, that the Venetian ambassador when bringing the ducats was obliged to appear with a chain round his neck.

sacrificed innumerable victims merely to secure their property.* Hundreds of so-called witches and sorcerers were condemned, because they belonged to the wealthier classes. Did not a pope sentence every member of a religious order to death, merely to enjoy their possessions? The Templars were the victims, their executioner Clement V. ; he who had previously mulcted the Venetians of the 100,000 ducats.

We will but briefly recapitulate the murderous procedure, as our readers will doubtless remember its details, or readily recall them from our short summary. The order of the Templars was founded in 1118, by Godfrey de Bouillon, and his brothers in arms, Sir Hugo de Payen, and Godfrey de St. Omer ; its object had originally been the protection of wayfaring pilgrims from the Saracens. Baldwin II.† gave up part of his palace in Jerusalem to the Templars for the seat of the order, and as this palace was built on the site of Solomon's temple, and close to the Holy Sepulchre, the new fraternity took the title of "Knights of the Temple ;" their device—"Battle to the infidel, and protection to the holy sepulchre," and whatever their faults, assuredly no braver soldiers ever existed. Their oath of poverty was, however, not long respected : gifts and bequests flowed in to them ; especially after the pontificate of Alexander III., who took them under his especial protec-

* Many persons in the terror occasioned by the dread tribunal, and the probability that however innocent, some pretence might be invented to sacrifice them to its avarice or hate, purchased apostolic letters of indemnity from its jurisdiction published by the pope ; many, however, still failed to escape, even with this safeguard.

† King of Jerusalem.

tion, and soon their order exceeded all others in wealth and worldly importance. By the middle of the thirteenth century, it possessed in the various Christian kingdoms, principally in France, Spain, England, Italy, and Portugal, no less than 900 estates, with the castles adjoining, and its power and influence seemed constantly in the ascendant. The internal polity of the fraternity was that of a theocratical knightly republic,* frequently assuming a somewhat threatening attitude towards the government of the country in which it was represented. The fraternity often possessed more influence there than the monarch, to whom, indeed, they were in no manner answerable, their allegiance being due to the pope alone. This was frequently and irritatingly felt by the French kings; and Philip IV., as grasping a tyrant as ever abused royal power, growing jealous of their riches and importance, determined to compass their destruction.

It was naturally the interest of the papacy to protect an order which had always proved the firmest friend of the Roman hierarchy; but at the commencement of the fourteenth century the tiara was possessed by a man who was not only vain, foolish, and cowardly, but completely under the influence of his countryman, Phillip of France. This Gascon pope was the Clement V. of whom we have already spoken; he had been bishop of Bordeaux, and still earlier simply Bertrand of Got; his

* It was presided over by a Grand Master, whose power was circumscribed by the chapter of the order. Grand Priors represented the rank immediately below the Grand Master, and administered various offices, whilst bailiffs and priors completed the hierarchy.

elevation was due to French influence, and to French influence his subsequent removal to Avignon.* In this, however, from the papal point of view, does not consist the wrong with which he may be charged, it is that before his nomination he bound himself to make common cause with the king of France against the Templars. Both potentates impatiently desired the dissolution of the order, the destruction of its members, confiscation of their property, and the division of the booty between them. So the act was resolved on, though the results were not quite as Clement anticipated.

When the plan was fully ripe, King Phillip produced certain witnesses who charged the Templars with a long list of crimes ;† the king thereupon appointed a tribunal to privately consider these accusations, and investigate the matter thoroughly ; at the same time the pope enticed Jacob Bernard de Molay to leave Cyprus‡ for France, thus securing him and the leaders of the order who attended his person. Scarcely had this trick succeeded than it was followed up by the arrest of all who had thus placed themselves in their enemies' power. The betrayed Templars were seized on the night of the 30th October, 1307. In Paris alone there were 140,

* We shall speak later of this transference of the papal seat of government, and of the seventy years' exile called the "Babylonish captivity of the popes."

† The accusations comprised denial of Christ, heathen, or rather Mohammedan apostacy, and unnatural crimes of the most revolting nature—crimes for which no proofs were ever adduced.

‡ The island of Cyprus was then included in Christendom, and nominally governed by King Amalaric, though, after the reconquest of Jerusalem by the Saracens, the Templars had their chief seat there, in the city of Limisso, and were the actual rulers of the island.

including Jacob de Molay, and not less than sixteen times that number in the provinces of France.

A month later the pope issued a Bull commanding the arrest of all Templars wherever they might be found, and then commenced a judicial trial unexampled in all history. Pope and king went hand in hand, appointed judges, or rather inquisitors, who succeeded in obtaining such confessions that, in reading them now after the lapse of well nigh five hundred years, the blood curdles with horror; but, alas! by what agonies had they not been obtained; still, despite the rack and every form of suffering that could be inflicted on the victims, it was long before sufficient evidence could be wrung from them to authorize a capital sentence.

Not until May, 1310, could the first of these organized massacres be consummated. Upon that day fifty-four knights were slowly burnt to death upon a pile erected at the gate of St. Antony at Paris; nine suffered at Senlis, and upwards of thirty in other cities of the kingdom. All, in the hour of death, declared their innocence. This was but the beginning of the end. On the 20th of May, 1311, the pope closed the investigations, and in the following October summoned a council at Vienne to bring the whole proceedings to a close. How shamefully and shamelessly this council acted, is proved by the fact that the later popes dared not let the papers relating to it see the light of day, and actually destroyed the greater number. But, in 1311, pope and king were alike grateful to the council; and, on the evidence furnished by it, His Holiness (3rd April, 1312,) declared the Order of the Templars

abolished by papal ban, and the knights' property confiscated for their notorious misdeeds. These misdeeds, were not otherwise particularized,—they were but of secondary interest, the confiscation furnished the real plot of the tragedy. Its closing scene was the burning by slow fire of the Grand Master, the Grand Prior, Hugo de Peraldo, and the Dauphin d'Auvergne. All three, in their last moments, solemnly asserted their innocence; and Jacob de Molay, raising his right hand above the flames, summoned the pope and the king to appear before the Judgment Seat of God ere the year had closed.* So passed the 19th May, 1314, in the city of Paris.

The plot was triumphant, the Order destroyed, and 20,000 knights either put to death by the executioner, or condemned to life-long imprisonment in various convents. Others, more fortunate, entered the order of St. John, or that of the Teutonic Knights, and a few returned to civil life. In France, the king secured all their possessions for the royal treasury.† In England the crown claimed two-thirds; in Germany the proceeds were divided among the Knights of St. John and the local Orders; in Arragon they were bestowed on the order of Calatrava, and in Portugal on that of Christ; in Italy alone the pope was enabled to confiscate to his own advantage, but he secured besides one-half of the sum brought by the grand master from Cyprus. We

* Clement and Philip both died ere the year expired!

† That no other motive than the desire for their wealth actuated Philip we may justly conclude by the fact that in 1301, just one year before the charges brought against the Templars, he at one blow expelled all the Jews from France, and confiscated their property. Eight years later they were suffered to return—to be again despoiled and driven forth.

have surely had sufficient evidence of the papal lust for gold; it grows too nauseating in the details.

We must even pass over such notorious examples as the "corn forestalling" system * employed by Innocent X. (1644-55), the canonization of saints † at so much per head, the trade in relics, in *Agnus Dei*, ‡ and the still more productive dispensations § from fasts, &c., &c.

* This "corn forestalling" of Pope Innocent consisted simply in his engrossing the entire monopoly of the corn trade within the papal states. The peasant who raised the grain dared neither sell it to foreign nor native merchants, but was obliged to deliver it at a fixed price to the papal agents. Nor could the bakers buy their flour except from his Apostolic majesty. One can readily imagine how productive this monopoly must have been when the grain bought for one ducat was sold at cent. per cent. profit. The immediate successors of Innocent adopted his political economy, and thus the rural classes of the states were doomed to a hopeless struggle with penury, though no more fruitful land was lighted by the sun.

† According to Güntherode, the Jesuits paid 100,000 gold florins to the papal exchequer for the canonization of Loyola, others were not less profitable. We do not enter upon the pope's right to bestow saintship; this, as an article of the Catholic faith, we respectfully ignore; our concern is with the papal abuses merely.

‡ The trade in relics first attained importance during the crusades, when so large an amount of those holy articles were imported from Palestine. So many splinters of the true cross were disposed of, that they would have required at least ten giant trees to have furnished them. The head of St. John was sold three times over, and is preserved in three several churches. The *Agnus Dei* (or amulets) were brought into fashion by Urban V. (1362-70), and these "lambs of God" were sold by thousands as preservatives against sickness and misfortune.

§ These dispensations still bring some return to Rome, though no longer a revenue as of old. We will not enter on the origin of the Friday and Lenten, the sixth and seventh hebdomadal fasts, though it were unjust to ignore the claim of Gregory I. as the inventor of this "stomach and cooking-craft piety," as a certain satirist denominates it, and as the granter of dispensations in cases of sickness. Later popes gave dispensations at a fixed rate of prices, graduated, however, to meet the

We cannot resist quoting one striking example.

Sultan Bajazet II. had had to contest his throne with his younger brother, Dschem : the latter was overcome, after a bloody battle, and despairing of safety among the Mahommedans, sought it (1485) at Rhodes, with the Knights of St. John. The grand master of the order sent him to the king of France, at Paris, and pope Innocent VIII. gave the King no rest until he had captured Dschem, and made him over to the custody of his Holiness,* "who would use him as a means to work out great things for Christendom : " so said Innocent. What were these great things?—simply a scheme of papal avarice. As soon as Dschem was in the apostolic keeping, Sultan Bajazet was informed of the fact, and he, well aware of the pope's character, at once despatched an embassy to entreat his holiness to retain Dschem as a prisoner, and thus prevent him stirring up civil strife. Of course the embassy did not appear empty handed ; they brought the very lance head with which Christ had been pierced,

means of the different classes of applicants. They also determined the food permissible during the periods of fasting : milk, eggs, fish, otters, crustacea, frogs, snails, &c., &c. Why were these things chosen ? Because at the Fall, God had cursed the land, not the water ; because, at the Creation, the Spirit of God passed over the great deep ; because water is the medium of purification, the chief element in the sacrament ; and because the monks loved trout and salmon, and the popes loved the monks ; so these articles of food were not flesh, and therefore lawful when men should abstain from flesh. Though we may not be able to follow the argument, such as it is, it was founded on church authority, and therefore need not wonder that all the implements of the " passion " are exhibited as strikingly in the pike as in the passion flower.

* The whole of this romantic history, as related by Malteo Bossi, Pauvinius, and other historians, so in detail and upon such grave authority, that we can have no reason to question its truth.

many costly pearls and jewels, and 120,000 ducats in hard coin. Bajazet promised, moreover, an annual donation of 40,000 ducats to the papal treasury so long as Dschem was kept secure. Innocent forgot his "grand designs" against the paynims, and,—accepted annual subsidy. When his successor, Alexander VI. (1492-1503), found Charles VIII. of France anxious to liberate Dschem, in order to create a rebellion in the dominions of the Sultan, with whom his most Christian Majesty had become involved in hostilities, his holiness at once informed Bajazet of the plan; and a friendly correspondence ensued between the two potentates.* The several letters that passed referred to a request just agreed to by the pope for sending Dschem, who still was the chief object of his brother's jealousy, quietly out of the world, in consideration of 300,000 ducats. King Charles VIII. unfortunately knew nothing of this secret arrangement, or he would have acted very differently when he came to Italy in the autumn of that year (1494) and demanded Dschem from the holy father, intending to use him against Bajazet. The pope might now seem in a dilemma, but he had tact enough to turn it to his own signal profit. He readily consented to yield up his prisoner, on the king's paying 20,000 ducats for expenses incurred on his account, and his majesty further promising that if Dschem died within any short period his body should be sent back to Rome.

* Giovanni delle Rovere discovered the letters. A Turkish vessel, carrying a confidential messenger from Bajazet to Alexander, being driven on shore at Sinegaglia. He subsequently made them over to the king of France. We have to thank John Burchard, the pope's master of the ceremonies, for their preservation.

The ill-starred prince did not long survive his liberation. Caesar Borgia accompanied him to the French camp, and soon found means of expediting his departure into eternity. Alexander received the corpse according to agreement, at once forwarded it on to the Sultan, and earned the promised 300,000 ducats.

Surely a sufficiently marked example of the subject of this chapter ! and with it we turn from the consideration of papal greed to the more imposing iniquities of papal ambition.

BOOK II.

POPE AND HUMILITY.

“Das schlichte Vorbild Jesu sah man kühn verachtet ;
Stoltz nahm der Demuth stelle ein.
Dort war das Himmelreich verpachtet,
Hier prunkte früher Heüchelschein.
Des Gottgesandten Lehre blieb verhöhnt
Das Laster sah man, Königlich gekrönt.
Die Wahrheit ward vom Wahn verlacht,
Das licht versank in düstre nacht.
Im Reich der Sittlichkeit war Sittlichkeit verschwunden,
Die Menschheit blutete aus tausend Wunden ;
Sich brüstend sass der Antichrist auf seinem Thron,
Dreifach gekront sprach er der Menschheit Hohn!”

A. R.

“Jesu's example men saw set at nought ;
Humility displac'd was by Pride ;
Heaven's kingdom there was chaffered with and bought ;
Here, False Devotion stalked self-glorified.
The God-sent gospel was neglected,—scorned ;
With royal diadem foul Sin adorned.
Folly drove Truth away with jest and gibe,
Light sank submerged in Night's invading tide.
From Virtue's realm had Virtue passed away ;
Bleeding from countless wounds Earth's children lay ;
Whilst Antichrist, thrice crowned, the sceptre swayed,
And mocked the ruin that his hate had made!”

CHAPTER I.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PAPAL IDEA. THE BISHOPS OF ROME DURING THE FIRST NINE CENTURIES.

THE popes, in the excess of their humility, love to call themselves the "Servant of servants;" though never in ancient or modern times, in the east or west, have ever monarchs carried the caprices of despotism to such shameless excess as these devout "*Servi servorum*." Their arrogance, at one time, went nigh to depose the very Godhead they professed to honour, whilst they exhibited themselves as the supreme divinity to whom alone men-worship was due. That this is no fantastic rhetoric, no exaggeration of their assumptions, the succeeding pages will sufficiently prove.

We have already seen the unpretending character of the bishops and chief elders of the first three centuries. They were men wedded to poverty, without worldly power or privileges, and far the greater number died a martyr's death. Moreover, the little else known of them is known without any certainty; their very names and order of succession are, doubtless, the invention of a later age; but whether the first thirty-two traditionary Roman bishops ever existed, the fact remains the same: they were nothing more than simple priests.

From the moment of Constantine's conversion all this was changed: the Christian became a state religion, and the position of the bishops proved susceptible of strange developments. From that moment we may date the rise of their power and wealth. The erection of the first church* was immediately followed by the growth of a hierarchy, and finally the establishment of the papacy itself. Presbyters and bishops, to whom wealth poured in on all sides, soon became independent of their flocks; and then arose among them a spirit of caste, until, like the Brahmins of the East, they well nigh persuaded themselves they were formed of other clay than the rest of humanity. The power of the bishops in relation to the lower clergy increased in the same proportion. Christianity, as a court religion, gradually included in its fold nearly all the more wealthy and powerful citizens, and it became doubly important the ranks of the working clergy should be adequately supplied. This duty remained solely in the hands of the bishops, whose authority was absolute over the humbler members of the hierarchy. The administration of church property, also, was soon wholly engrossed by them, and the right of determining in synod all questions of ecclesiastical dogma or discipline. Thus armed, it was no wonder they founded large pretensions on their office.

Above the varying importance of the secondary pro-

* The etymology of the word "church" may be unknown to some of our readers. The first Christian temples were called *dominicæ* (from *Dominus*),—Lord, or houses of the Lord. In Greek, the language of the polite world, *dominica* became *kūriaca* (*kūrios*, Lord), and from *kūriaca*, in the days of the Latin empire, came the corrupted forms,—*kirche*, *kirk*, *church*.

vincial cities and communities in which the episcopal sees were placed, the capital of each province, of course, maintained its superiority. The residence of the prefect or governor constituted a capital; and as the greater number of the provincial churches were derived from a capital, they still remained in a dependent relationship towards the Christian congregation there, or rather to the spiritual chief of that congregation. Its bishop, or "metropolitan bishop," was the natural adviser and protector of his provincial brethren, and was honoured accordingly. Thus, spontaneously, did the episcopal system of the church develop. The united churches of each province formed a whole, at the head of which stood the metropolitan,* acknowledged as "the first among his equals." The provincial bishops were accustomed to visit the capital annually for mutual consultation, under the presidency of the metropolitan;† and these synods constituted not only the supreme courts of judicature in all ecclesiastical matters, but from them originated the whole body of canonical laws.

The church did not long remain faithful to the republican character of the metropolitan institution. Among the numerous chief cities of the Roman empire were several which, by greater wealth, population, or political

* He was originally entitled "*Episcopus primæ sedis*" (bishop of the chief see). We find the title, "Metropolitan bishop," first used at the Synod of Nicæa, anno 325.

† The Metropolitan was charged with the duty of carrying out the decrees of the synods, and his privileges were not unimportant. The synods were summoned by him, he presided at them, the provincial bishops were more or less under his authority, he ordained them. In short, he held much the same position in the ecclesiastical, as the contemporary Prefects held in the political world.

influence, acquired greater importance than the rest ; and the metropolitans of these favoured cities assumed a like superiority over their colleagues, whose duties lay in less pleasant places. Besides, nearly all the churches in the larger cities claimed one or other of the "apostles" as their founder, and stood in the relation of a spiritual mother to the surrounding congregations. Their bishop, in place of one, had frequently the care of several provinces, and thus acquired the title of exarch, or patriarch.* Yet this was not sufficient ; they had set their heart upon a position definitely exalted above the simple metropolitans. They resolved to obtain the same relative position as the imperial exarchs, who held viceregal authority over a greater or less number of provinces (ducate), each of which was locally administered by its own governor (dux). The patriarchs declared : "That the metropolitan bishops fitly represented within the church the position of the *duces* in the State;—therefore, we, the patriarchs, have, in a spiritual sense, the same privileges and dignities as the imperial exarchs in a secular one." These assumptions proved successful ; and by the fifth century the "metropolitan" had developed into a "patriarchate" institution. The Roman empire was marked out into five large divisions, over each of which presided a chief metropolitan, or patriarch, who stood in a like relationship to the lesser metropolitans as the latter to their suffragan bishops.

The government of the church lapsed into the hands

* The title of patriarch (paternal lord) was first formally sanctioned at the Synod of Chalcedon. Exarch had been adopted from the Greek emperors' vicegerents, and to avoid any confusion of persons was shortly laid aside in favour of the former designation.

of an oligarchy, whose five members resided respectively at Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. To their power all other ecclesiastical dignitaries were obliged to bow, though each of the five professed to claim no exceptional authority or spiritual superiority over his immediate colleagues. To carry this equality out in action would have been a sore trial for any oligarchs : we can scarcely imagine that oligarchs ecclesiastic would find it possible. Alas ! priestly pride and vanity was not so easily to be laid aside. The five patriarchs were not false to their instincts, but they were destroyed by their mutual jealousy. From the beginning, they pursued each other with such rancour of hatred, calumny, envy and malice, that the most cynical adherent of the old faith could not have wished it fiercer. Each was resolved to obtain the first place ; each was resolved to govern the other four. But the chief in this bad pre-eminence, and assuredly not least gifted, otherwise, was the patriarch of Rome ; he, who was in the end to remain victor in the struggle, and succeed to the spiritual supremacy of all Christendom.

The Roman bishops had, as patriarchs of Rome, the primacy over all bishops in those provinces and cities within the jurisdiction of the imperial " *vicarii urbis*," viceroy of Italy. They had become important political dignitaries since the conversion of the empire, though, alas ! not the most important for which fact, indeed, the patriarchs of Constantinople were answerable. The latter, after the transference of the seat of government to ancient Byzantium, found themselves placed at the very source of the fountain of honour, and could draw

from it at discretion. This perversity of fortune greatly irritated Bishop Sylvester,* whose hands had baptized the first Christian emperor and his sons, and he at once employed his ingenuity to remedy it. But from the very circumstance of this change in the imperial residence, the patriarchs of Rome soon felt they might derive their greatest advantage; though they must henceforth remain too far removed from the emperors to hope or obtain much by court favour, they would, for that very reason, be left the freer scope for their own policy in Italy and western Europe. How they used this opportunity to found a temporal sovereignty we have already seen; how they used it for the advancement of their spiritual supremacy, it is now our object to investigate.

The main element of ultimate triumph for the Roman bishops was precisely that they were bishops of Rome; the chief priest of the ancient capital of the world necessarily held a quite other position than his brethren, whose care was given to obscure communities. The name of Rome, the tendency of all the wealth and civilization of the western world thither, formed the basis of papal ascendancy in later times. The second element of success was furnished by the tradition that Christianity owed its establishment in Rome to St. Peter, so that the popes were enabled to appropriate to them-

* Sylvester had thought he enjoyed, above all others, the confidence of his sovereign and proselyte, and suffered a painful revulsion of feeling when, at the great council of Nicæa, anno 325, summoned by Constantine to determine certain vexed questions in the church, especially with reference to the Arian heresy, the vice presidential chair was given under the nominal presidency of the emperor, not to him but to Hosius, bishop of Cordova. Sufficient evidence how little an actual primacy was then dreamed of.

selves Christ's words: "I say unto thee that thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church; and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. And I give unto thee the keys," &c., &c.: deducing from thence that as Peter received the keys of Heaven and Hell from his Master, as chief of the apostles, so they, as Peter's spiritual heirs, inherited his spiritual powers.

We do not enter on the authenticity of the expressions imputed to the great founder of Christianity, though the fact of Peter ever having visited Rome at all has been so greatly contested, that we cannot avoid recalling the question to the reader's attention. It is at least worthy of remark that there is no passage in the New Testament which would imply that Peter had visited the Roman capital, though other journeys taken by him in the service of the faith are carefully particularized.* It is even still more singular that all the writers of the church during the two first centuries are equally silent; only in those of the third do we find the important event referred to. But strangest of all is the fact that St. Paul, who unquestionably was at Rome in the time of the Emperor Nero, and whose letters thence are still extant, never refers in any way to the presence of St. Peter, who, according to the assertions of subsequent bishops, was there at the same date as the apostle of the Gentiles. A somewhat mysterious legend, indeed, and so much the more so as it was subsequently made to include the statement that St. Peter had even

* See Acts of the Apostles, chapters viii., ix., xii., xv., xxxi., xxxii.; Epistle to the Galatians, chapters ii., xi.; First Epistle of St. Peter, chapters v., xiii.

officiated as bishop of Rome for twenty-five years, and finally suffered martyrdom there by crucifixion.*

Whether St. Peter had or had not been in Rome, whether the legends of his labours in the Eternal City belong to history or to mythos, the result remained the same for the Christians of the fourth century, and not one of the orthodox of that time ever ventured to question the assumed fact, which deduced the origin of the Roman church from the two most famous of the apostles, proved it indebted during a long course of years to the personal guidance of Christ's first proselyte, but also marked it as the favoured source from whence all subsequent apostolic efforts issued.

Whatever was believed in Rome, that was surely right, for did not those very doctrines descend even from the apostles Peter and Paul? Thus it proved singularly fortunate for the tiara, not that the chief of the apostles had been a Roman bishop, but that his successors had established a belief in his episcopal functions.

* Both St. Peter and St. Paul are said to have met their death at Rome, though the latter, as a Roman citizen, was permitted to die by the sword. St. Peter, at his own entreaty, feeling unworthy to suffer in the same way as his Master, was nailed to the cross head downward. The pillar to which he was bound, and the chains he wore, his bones, and those of St. Paul, are still in existence, and are adored by thousands to this day. The fisher's signet—the apostle casting his net to catch believers—which St. Peter had used as the symbol of his office, is still exhibited to the faithful, and one of his Bulls with an impression of the signet at its head. The former, however, was not historically known until anno 985, and there is, perhaps, some error in the authenticity of the Bull, as we find no reference to it earlier than 1662. The seat used by the great apostles at the meetings of the Faithful was shown until 1662, when it needed repair, and, lo! the labours of Hercules were discovered carved on it beneath its outer covering; and the chair stood self-accused a heathen chair, made in honour of a heathen divinity.

The third element of success was constituted by the fact that nearly all the western world having been converted to Christianity by missionaries from Rome, the greater part of Europe naturally looked to the city of the Cæsars as to its spiritual guide. The four other patriarchates, Constantinople, Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, had fixed boundaries, marked by the limits of the empire; those of the patriarchate of Rome were still indefinite from the number of western nations still in a state of barbarism, and all more or less open to proselytizing labours. Here was a wide field for spiritual conquests, and the bishops of Rome immediately perceiving the ultimate advantages of conversions originating with themselves, lost no time and spared no pains in pushing forward the pious work. Nor were their cares directed to the redemption of single individuals, or of mere isolated provinces; they were devoted to the conversion of whole nations, the Christianizing of the greater part of Europe. The Scot, Patricius (St. Patrick,) was sent to Ireland in the cause, anno 432, whilst St. Augustin was despatched to England, St. Gallus to France, St. Boniface to Germany,* &c., &c. Of course, the good missionaries acted completely under the inspiration of their patron the bishop of Rome, and carried with them the Roman dogmas, customs, and canonical discipline as their sole rule of guidance. The population of the west was accustomed from the beginning to seek the spiritual initiative from St. Peter's successor, and

* St. Columban, St. Kilian, St. Emmeran, St. Rupert, St. Willibald, St. Ansgar, &c., &c., to the Angle Saxons, Norwegians, Swedes, Poles, and such like heathen people.

recognise in him supreme and irrevocable authority in church matters.* Where else could the western bishops have sought guidance? in the other patriarchates Greek was the sole medium of communication. "*Græca sunt non possunt intelligi*" was a common expression with the priests of Europe, who, indeed, had no alternative but to constitute the western patriarch their sole arbiter and adviser—a duty he but too willingly assumed, for, since the conversion of the barbarians, the Roman bishops studiously mixed themselves in every controversy, and soon arrogated the sole right of determining each. "Roman canon law shall be universally acknowledged, and the decision of the bishops of Rome final in every case." So resolved the successors of St. Peter, even in comparatively early times, and then appointed vicars to carry out the plan in the various districts of their vast diocese. "For it is far to Rome, the apostolical Holiness declared, and if each person would come hither for advice on every question of conscience, he might wait half an eternity before he could receive it, therefore we appoint our vicars, who shall give counsel in our stead, that it may be seen we study the convenience of the western bishops to the full verge of our ability."†

* The compulsory conversion of the Saxons under Charlemagne was of no little service to the papacy, and as the great emperor proposed to give a stronger bond of union to his conquests by a common Christianity, it was essentially necessary that none but Roman Christianity should be admitted in them. With this object he gave every assistance to the bishops of Rome in establishing bishoprics, and monasteries dependent upon them, in the forcibly Christianised lands.

† These vicars apostolic make their appearance in history as early as anno 412. The Roman patriarch generally chose a metropolitan for the office, whose devotion to his patron had been proved.

The last great element in the development of the papal idea, was the rise and rapid growth of Mohammedanism. It may seem paradoxical that Islam, which inflicted so many injuries on Christendom, could serve the ambition of a Christian hierarch; but Islam removed many troublesome rivals who had long contested the assumptions of the Roman episcopacy. Again, the conquest of North Africa by the Arian* Vandals, in the fifth century, was of great advantage to the patriarchate of the west, as the orthodox bishops were obliged to seek help from Rome, to bring the heretics to sounder views. Still of chief moment was the rapid spread of the religion of the crescent. After Persia, Asia Minor, Egypt, North Africa, Spain, &c., had been overrun by the Saracens, Christianity swept away, and with it the patriarchates of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch; the bishop of Rome had but one rival left: he of Constantinople. But, indeed, this last was far more redoubtable than all the other three had been; for did he not even pretend to precedence over his brother of Italy, and had strengthened that pretence by imperial fiat? The Greek emperors, for political reasons, declared the church of Constantinople supreme over all others; this decree was confirmed by the Synod of Chalcedon, anno 451, and was supported by many of

* Arius held Christ not to be "of one substance with the Father," but a created being; a man, though a peculiarly gifted one. For this "rationalism" he was excommunicated by the Council of Nicæa; but, despite the ban, his views rapidly spread, until they included whole nations. Not until two hundred and fifty years had passed, and thousands had been involved in deadly strife through it, in the endeavour at mutual destruction, was the heresy at length put down.

the subsequent Greek emperors—by Leo the Isaurian especially—despite the protests of the Roman prelate. There seemed little probability that this remaining opposition would be overcome, and had the Eastern emperors retained their power, the patriarch of Constantinople might have become universal primate.

But this was not to be; their western dominions were lost in the overwhelming flood of northern barbarism, and their eastern—kingdom after kingdom, province after province, fell from their feeble grasp. The eastern patriarchate shared the doom of the empire, and soon that of the west had little to fear from a rival, whose authority was circumscribed by the limits of a single city,* or the districts a little beyond its walls.

Another boon for which Rome might well have been grateful, was the necessity of church countenance to Pepin, for the successful issue of his usurpation, and his acknowledgment of this by making over the temporal government of St. Peter's patrimonium to the saint's successors, by which the spiritual dignity of the patriarchs was enhanced by the addition of royal power. As independent princes, they at once took a far higher position than any of their episcopal colleagues, and were thus enabled to assume supreme rule throughout the greater part of their peninsular, in things concerning both this world and the next.

* During the period of the Saracenic conquests, and subsequent dominion, the bishops of Rome continued to ordain to the lost sees, and the prelates so appointed, signed themselves "in partibus infidelium." The church of Rome could never acknowledge the loss of anything it had once possessed, and made titular dignitaries in defiance of political facts.

We have seen the general plan on which the Roman bishops acted, but we have not yet observed how individual prelates used the levers they had secured, so that little by little the patriarchate was raised into a papacy.

Roman bishops, even in earlier times, had not seldom distinguished themselves by their ambition, but for many years it was moulded on no definite plan. Bishop Victor (193-202) affords an example of their pretensions. At that time Christians and Jews alike celebrated Easter with roast paschal lamb; but in Asia Minor it was customary to eat it on the fourteenth night of the Jewish month Nizzan, as Christ had done; whilst in Rome, as a mark of distinction from the Jews, a Friday was always appointed for the festival. The chief presbyter of Smyrna, Father Polycarp, during a visit to his colleague, Anicet of Rome, in A.D. 165, had defended this divergence, without injuring the good understanding then existing; but thirty years later Victor was chief bishop in Italy, and soon informed his Christian brother of Smyrna he could no longer hold communion with him, if he persisted in having the typical roast served up at such an heterodox time. There was still sufficient good sense in Christendom for Victor's pretensions to meet with universal discountenance, he was obliged to withdraw them, acknowledge he had been ill-advised, and general unity of faith was preserved, notwithstanding the slight differences of local observances.

Far more important was a later theological dispute on the necessity or non-necessity of re-baptism, for per-

sons who had originally received the rite from an heterodox priest.*

Carthage said "yes;" Rome said "no;" and each chief presbyter declared heaven on his side. Stephen I. (253-57) governed the church in Rome at this period, and Cyprian, still honoured as one of the fathers, enjoyed the same dignity in the rival city. Cyprian summoned two synods, the latter of which was attended by eighty-seven bishops, who all pronounced themselves of his opinion. Bishop Stephen, nothing daunted, maintained the orthodoxy of his own fiat — "for had not the Roman church been founded by St. Peter, and the observance for which he contended had obtained since the days of the great apostle." This was the first formal claim advanced by a Roman prelate as the heir of St. Peter, or for the Roman church, as founded by the crucified apostle. The contemporaries of Stephen not only refused to entertain his assumptions, but expressed the most positive reprobation of their vain-glorious absurdity. Cyprian addressed a letter of remonstrance to him, in which he declares, "custom, without truth, is but superannuated error;" and Bishop Firmilian of Cappadocia, in an encyclical brief issued on the occasion, says;—"Righteously am I angered with Stephen,

* We must remember the dogmas of the Church were still very fluctuating: it was not yet determined which of the more than twenty gospels existent were to be accepted as the rule of faith. The New Testament, as it now stands, was not compiled until A.D. 325. Disputes on the Trinity, the two-fold nature in Christ, His Godhead, &c., were universally occupying the thoughts and ingenuity of disputants. The truth was determined by the majority of votes in each council called to determine it.

who doth exalt himself above others on account of his office ; yea, declareth he is the very heir of the blessed St. Peter."

Nevertheless, Stephen's successors maintained in the teeth of their brother dignitaries, " We are greater than ye are, forasmuch as we are the inheritors of the prince of the apostles."

These pretensions were exhibited very conspicuously by Julius I. (337-57). An eastern synod had deposed bishop Athanasius from the see of Alexandria on account of heretical opinions, and the bishop immediately appealed to Rome against the decision. Pope Julius at once declared the sentence had no sufficient grounds, and severely reprov'd the synod for " coming to any judgment at all without first consulting him, in obedience to the just prerogatives of the Roman church, as they had existed from the days of its first founder." Julius longed sorely to assume the dignity of supreme judge spiritual ; but the eastern bishops assembled at Antioch paid no heed to his claims, and informed him, that though his diocese might be larger, his own powers were no more than those of other metropolitans.

This contest raged long and fiercely ; even the Council of Sardica assembled, by the sons of Constantine, anno 347, to adjust the theological controversies of the time, could effect nothing in it, the council itself collapsing by the withdrawal of the eastern bishops, who felt scandalised by the presence of Athanasius. Not until the time of Bishop Liberius (352-66), was peace restored between Rome and the recalcitrant churches. Liberius then consented to join in denouncing Athanasius ; but

his inducement was, that the Emperor Constantius himself was half an Arian; and Liberius, by embracing the imperial side of the controversy, became answerable for a like depth of heterodoxy.*

Still more determinately did Bishop Siricius (384-98) assert the apostolic inheritance; when some Spanish prelates consulted him upon certain religious observances, he replied, unhesitatingly, "Such and such things it is your duty to maintain, and whoso neglecteth them will be cast off from the rock on which Christ hath built his church." Rome was, of course, the "rock," for was not Peter the chief of the twelve apostles? In the same spirit Pope Innocent I. declared, in a letter to Bishop Decentius, anno 416, "All the western churches shall be ruled by the customs, discipline, and dogma of that of Rome, for hath not all Italy, France, Spain, and Germany derived the faith from the successors of St. Peter!" He declared that the apostolic chair was "the central point towards which it behoved all the western churches to reverently turn for guidance. Zozemus, the next succeeding Roman bishop, strengthening himself on this dictum, attempted to arrogate the prerogatives of a supreme judge,† and adopted the bold words, "sic placuit sedi apostoliæ," ("it pleaseth the Apostolic Chair"): yet, despite these high pretensions, despite the legitimation accorded them by the Council of Nicæa, which formally recognised the power of

* Athanasius belonged to the orthodox party, the bishops who deposed him were semi Arians; that is, they only acknowledged the "likeness of God in Christ," whilst the Arians proper denied all divinity whatever to Jesus of Nazareth.

† In the famous Pelagian controversy then commencing.

Rome to "bind and loose," as the recipient of Peter's authority; the bishops of north Africa were still disobedient, and demanded the original documents on which these new pretensions were founded, and as no documents were forthcoming, declined to conform. Undeterred by this defeat, the following bishop, Cœlestin (422-32), commenced the struggle anew; but on this occasion it was to meet with no better success. Agiarius, presbyter of Sicca, in Numidia, had been degraded by his metropolitan as guilty of adultery, robbery, and various other crimes. Agiarius appealed to the bishop of Rome as patriarch of Numidia; Cœlestin grasped eagerly at such a fortunate opportunity, and immediately despatched a legate with orders for the bishop to reinstate the presbyter without delay. No sooner was this decree made known, than all the bishops of north Africa immediately gathered in synod, protested against the interference of the Roman see in their affairs, and declared that "modesty and humility were far more seemly in him who claimed to be the representative of St. Peter, than empty pride and carnal ambition." Agiarius got nothing by his appeal, nor was Rome profited by adopting his cause.

This continued ill success in north Africa must have materially assuaged the pious grief felt in Rome when at length those rebellious dioceses were overrun by the Arian Vandals, and finally fell into the hands of the Saracens. More substantial consolation was yielded by Europe, which reverently beheld in Rome the fount and mainspring of its salvation. Here and there an occa-

sional prelate, those of Gaul most frequently, ventured to oppose the popular current of opinion, but Leo the Great (440-61) contrived to effectually crush their antagonism. Hilarius, metropolitan of Arles, dispossessed Caledonius, one of the bishops of his diocese, for various offences against the canon law. Caledonius, like his Numidian fellow-sufferer, sought redress at Rome. It was then Roman policy to support the lower dignitaries of the church against their superiors in any dispute, quite irrespective of its grounds; by this means the power of the higher prelates could be most effectually restrained, whilst all they lost lapsed into the hands of the Roman pontiff. Caledonius was therefore pronounced innocent of the charges brought against him, and Leo sternly admonished the metropolitan of Arles to reinstate the dispossessed bishop. Leo professedly founded this command on his own "apostolic" character, and on the origin of the church of Gaul, in Rome, whither it had always turned for advice, or sought arbitration in questions of church government. Hilarius naturally still proved refractory, and was supported by many of the bishops of Gaul, despite Leo's representations, that the latter would find their reward in siding with Rome against their ambitious metropolitan, they maintained their internal ecclesiastical affairs were not cognizable by a foreign tribunal. Leo had still an all-powerful resource by which to bring these proud prelates to his feet; he applied to the Roman emperor (who was under the dominion of the empress-mother, Leo's own too devoted friend,) and at once an

imperial decree was issued by which Gaul, and the adjoining provinces, still left to the Cæsars, were pronounced subject in all spiritual things to the patriarch of Rome, whose commands should thenceforth be regarded by the Gallic bishops as law; and, finally, that every bishop who refused, after citation, to appear before the judgment seat of the Roman patriarch, should be forced to obey by the civil governor of the province concerned. Thus the supremacy of the Roman patriarch received the imperial fiat, and though the declining empire was in a few years to be crushed in the shock of the great German invasion, the pretensions of the Roman bishops to the patriarchate of the west were left unimpugned. The mighty immigration from the woods and wilds of Germany and Scandinavia was to overthrow the whole framework of society, and the nice-balanced structure of church policy had to be laboured out once more; but out of this chaos and wreck of a world, those who sat watching in Rome well knew how to turn the horrors and ruin of the tempest to their own gain.

Up to this date the policy pursued by the bishops of Rome was of no very defined character, and had but been carried out now in this direction, now in that, wherever there seemed hope of additional influence over the western churches. The thought of actual spiritual supremacy and independent temporal power was long ere it took shape. Division of ecclesiastical authority with the patriarchs of Constantinople was the height of their present aspirations, though, of course, any inequality in the division, if to their own advantage, would have seemed so much the more desirable.

After the fall of the western empire, the subsequent subjection of Italy to the Byzantine sovereigns was scarcely more than nominal, and far higher schemes thenceforth took possession of the Roman bishops. The patriarch of Constantinople was necessarily a subject of the Greek emperor, and, though never so greatly favoured by him, still doomed to a dependent position. Was it equally impossible for the patriarchs of Rome to achieve independence? Might they not become rulers over church and priesthood, as the kings they anointed were over temporal lords and lordships? The various states emerging from the cataclasm which had overwhelmed the old empire of Rome, were all based on the feudal system; their several provinces were divided into earldoms or baronies, each province generally containing about fifteen such, under the supremacy of a duke, and the united dukedoms formed a monarchy. How fittingly might the bishops represent the barons, the overbishops* or metropolitans the dukes, and the patriarch of Rome the royal Head of the State.

Thus arose the monarchical idea in the patriarchal mind, and though in the earlier stages of its development it was somewhat vague, yet as each succeeding Roman bishop laboured to carry on the work of his predecessors, each century saw the mighty edifice of a spiritual kingdom grow with increasing strength and grandeur. The Roman bishops began to feel the full importance of their task, and give their whole energy to

* Overbishop is in Greek *achiepisopus*, from whence archbishop; by which title it became customary to designate the metropolitans, from the fifth and sixth centuries.

its furtherance. It was at this epoch, between the sixth and eleventh centuries, that the northern nations were brought into the Christian fold. Then, too, came the invaluable labours of St. Boniface, the apostle of the Germans,* who achieved more for Rome among the Teutons and Gauls than a hundred ordinary missionaries. He was the first archbishop of Mayence, and, Vicar-apostolic of France. He it was who induced the archbishops of France and Germany to unanimously bind themselves to solicit the "pallium" from Rome, and hold their election invalid until it had been obtained. They still more emphatically acknowledged the supremacy of the great western patriarch in granting appeals to Rome on the part of their suffragans, and in recognising peculiar exemptions† in favour of certain religious Orders, who disclaimed the authority of their natural superiors, the archbishops, and bowed only to that of the bishop of Rome, greatly to the interest of the latter.

Examples, in plenty, offer themselves in illustration of this so well-concerted monarchical policy; but our space forbids their quotation, though we cannot resist citing one instance of its character and effect,—the assumption of the papal title, now first claimed, and which was afterwards to become so famous.

We have seen the bishops of Rome and Constanti-

* Boniface, before leaving Rome, was sworn on the grave of St. Peter by Gregory II., to support constantly the interests of the church of Rome, and in all things to conform to the wishes of its patriarch.

† The oldest example of an exemption of this kind is afforded by the Monte-Casino monastery, in Naples, founded anno 529, which was erected into a Benedictine abbey by pope Zacharius (741-752), in the presence of thirteen archbishops and sixty-eight bishops. With the consecration was bestowed the privilege, on its abbot, of responsibility to Rome alone.

nople possessed the two most important patriarchates, and were frequently called, in the language of flattery, œcumenical (universal) bishops or patriarchs, from whence, in later times, the term œcumenical,—catholic, universal, church, &c. The Roman bishops, Leo (440-51), Hormisdas (514-23), Boniface (530-32), &c., &c., and the Byzantine patriarchs, John (451), Menes (536), &c., &c., accepted the title with the quiet complacency of men who are flattered with one to which they dared make no claim. John III., patriarch of Constantinople (587), formally assumed in synod the title of “œcumenical,” the assembled bishops uttering no word of remonstrance. Pelagius II. of Rome, however, full of pious indignation, declared the pretension “sinful vanity ;” whilst his successor, the famous Gregory I. (590-604) was even more indignant at such “mad pride ;” and as John continued to employ the title regardless of the anger of his Roman brother, Gregory further denounced it as “blasphemous and devilish,” and wrote * at once to the emperor Mauritianus and his consort, accusing John as “sinning against the majesty of the imperial crown” by his “assumptions, whilst the bishop of Rome humbled himself as the ‘*servus servorum*,’† though in sooth far greater than his brother of Constantinople.” But the Emperor confirmed his patriarch in the designation, and the latter was thenceforth formally authorised in its use. Anno 601 witnessed one of the frequent “revolutions of the pa-

* These denunciatory letters are still in existence, as well as Gregory’s correspondence with the patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria on the subject. He characterises John in them as a “forerunner of antichrist ;” and a man who delighteth to contrive strife and universal contention.

† A title then first adopted by the popes.

lace" at Constantinople. The imperial guards and court minions deposed Mauritius and placed their favourite, Phocas, a drunken, debauched tyrant, on the throne. The new Emperor put the wife and daughters of the legitimate sovereign to death, and spared no one who had shown attachment to their family, whilst his consort aided him to the best of her power in all his crimes and excesses. The patriarch, Cyriakas, ventured a few words of expostulation; and though the despot feared to enrage the populace by attacking the head of the church, the latter thenceforth met but cold welcome at court, and this was soon known at Rome. Boniface III., who had mounted St. Peter's chair, anno 607, immediately dispatched an embassy to announce his own election, and entreat its recognition by the Emperor, offering at the same time his warmest congratulations on the Emperor's accession, felicitated the country on the downfall of the godless tyrant, Mauritius, and overwhelmed Phocas and the worthless woman his wife with the grossest flattery. Such an allocation was received with no little complacency at the court of Constantinople; and Boniface had no difficulty in irritating Phocas more and more against the recalcitrant patriarch, until the decree constituting him "universal" bishop was reversed in favour of the successors of St. Peter. The title which, in Byzantium, had been "blasphemous, devilish, and antichristian," was received in Rome with a "Te Deum laudamus!"

The Roman patriarchs became "œcumenical patriarchs;" nor did they enjoy the pleasant flattery of a sounding title alone,—they took care to secure the

power suggested by it. Boniface at once summoned a synod in St. Peter's, and it was there determined that no future episcopal nomination in western Christendom should be held valid unless it had originated with the priesthood and people, had then been authorised by the sovereign, and finally received the pope's fiat, either from him personally, or his appointed legate. The words to be used on such occasions being, "volumus * et jubemus" (we will and ordain). Herein lay the germ of a universal monarchy, whilst the newly-acquired title, "universal" bishop, would furnish its legitimation. As the Greek patriarchs might not improbably outlive their present disgrace to share the title they alone had once enjoyed, the Roman adopted one their rivals could make no pretence to,—this was, "papa,"* or "pope;" thus, in the seventh century, the Roman bishops were alike

* Papa is derived from the Latin word, *pater* (father), as is the German designation, *pfaffe*, which in the middle ages simply indicated a priest: but now used as a term of contempt, to express the meddling, self-importance of the clergy. *Pater*, in Latin, had given *papa* as a pleasant nursery word, kindlier to a child's lips than the consonants of the original. Tutors and others, to whom affectionate respect was intended, were called *papæ* in familiar speech. The Christian priests adopted the term; and in the fourth century, in place of your Reverence, or your Grace, almost every ecclesiastic was entitled "Domine papa," (lord—father). We find several letters of Gregory I., in which he addresses the Gallican bishops as *Domini papa*,—a sufficient proof the title was not yet engrossed by the head of the church. Two hundred years later the bishops of Rome subscribe themselves *papa urbis Romæ*, as a title peculiar to themselves. By the eighth century the power of the Roman church had so increased, that the prelates subject to it hesitated to call their chief by so simple a term as "Papa," so they reverently prefixed a *Sanctus* to it; though *Sanctus* then implied nothing more than "reverend." From this arose the modern title, "His Holiness the Pope."

entitled. "Papæ" (popes), and "œcumenical bishops," or sometimes both titles, were merged in that of "œcumenical (or 'universalis') pope." The head of the Roman church showed growing preference, however, for that of *pontifex maximus*,* first adopted by Theodosius (642-49), in a Bull, excluding Paulus, patriarch of Constantinople, from fellowship in the orthodox faith;† and the succeeding popes constantly affixed it to their signatures, occasionally adding "Vicarius Christi" (though this had been already adopted by the patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch). They further distinguished their bishopric as the "Sedes Apostolica"‡ (Apostolic See). All these titles were subordinate in papal favour to that of "Pontifex Maximus," and "Universalis Papa," which enjoyed equal esteem with the Roman bishops, who from the ninth century have claimed both, according their colleagues but that of "my brother," or "my Christian brother." [Theodosius, who adopted the title of Pontifex Maximus, was the last bishop of Rome who allowed himself to be addressed as "my brother."]—Since the commencement, indeed, of the ninth century, both appellations have been constantly employed; bishops and archbishops, kings and emperors, alike according them

* Pontifex, from *posse et facere*, "to do," and "to be able." The ancient Romans had a kind of ministry of public worship, the president of which was entitled Pontifex Maximus. The Christian popes assumed the heathen title without any compunction as to its source.

† The doctrinal question to which this Bull had reference, concerned a dual will in Christ, together with his divine and human natures. Theodosius was so excited by the dispute that he wrote this retributive Bull, not in ink, but in sacerdotal wine.

‡ All prelates, whose sees had been founded by one of the apostles, employed this term. It is marvel, therefore, that the popes did so.

to the successor of the apostles, except Charlemagne, who stood not upon such ceremony.* His son, however, Louis the Pious, made rich amends, addressing Pope Eugenius as "Most holy and reverend Father, High priest, and universal Pope. When princes thus enthroned the idol, their subjects might well fall down and adore it.

By the end of the ninth century, the bishops of Rome, or popes, as we may henceforth call them, had fully resolved their plan of operations. They had been originally simple chief elders, then bishops, then metropolitans, then patriarchs, then universal popes. The idea of their absolute spiritual autocracy was perfectly well defined to the episcopal imagination, and the line traced by which the goal should be reached; but the idea as yet had found no expression in facts, and the monarchical power and religious absolutism subsequently won, was but dimly visible in the dream land of the future. The bishops of Rome were still dependent on a temporal ruler; and whilst they so remained, it was not possible for them to acquire complete authority over their clergy; for the bishops and archbishops of each country were always but too disposed to throw themselves on the support of their temporal rulers, whenever they were at variance with the holy father at Rome.

In studying the history of the church, it is essentially necessary to distinguish the period during which great part of Italy was still held by the Byzantine emperors, from that when the Frankish kings and their successors

* The Great Kaiser wrote: "Carolus D. G. rex Francorum et Longobardorum, et Patricius Romæ Leoni Papæ perpetuam in Christi salutem."

were masters of Rome. In the first period the dependence of the church on the temporal power was too notorious to be questioned. Constantine II. had even deposed Liberius, the heir of him who had baptised Constantine the Great, and drove him from Rome on a question of doctrine. Bishop Martin, in 654, was seized in Rome, and exiled to Naxos by the Emperor Constans, and had fared worse, but for the intercession of his old enemy, the patriarch of Constantinople. During this period the Greek emperors assumed the real supremacy of the church, prescribed not only its ceremonies, but its very articles of faith. Gregory the Great wrote, "I have humbly shown all obedience to the emperor (Mauritius);" though that very emperor had sorely galled the bishop of Rome, by according the title of "Universal Patriarch" to his rival of Constantinople.

With the conquest of Rome and central Italy, the popes did but change masters; they acquired larger estates than of old, and the Frankish monarchs proved more pious and tractable lords than those of Byzantium. Charlemagne had been crowned at Rome, his successors followed his example; and proved not unwilling to gratify the dispenser of the sacred oil with certain concessions, and to let them follow their own devices in church affairs. Yet they were still Rome's suzerain, and no bishop there could wear the mitre without first taking the oath of allegiance. The clearest proof of this was afforded by the regulation regarding papal elections, enacted anno 825: it had been customary in earlier times that the bishops or presbyters should

be elected by each Christian community from among the general body of its members ; the nobles, and still more the clergy, soon, however, acquired a preponderating influence on such occasions, and at length the suffrages of the common people were reduced to the mere right of acceptance, with more or less acclamation, of the person chosen by the self-constituted "committee of election." It is readily conceivable that when two or more factions were represented by their respective candidates, murder and every kind of violence, was often enough the accompaniment of their proceedings, as was especially the case at the election of Pope Eugenius I. (824-27) ; so that King Louis the Pious sent his son to Rome to restore peace there, if possible, and effect some definite regulations for the future.

In consequence of the royal orders, Pope Eugenius proceeded to draw up the following oath, to be administered to the electors at all future papal elections :—

"I promise and swear by the Almighty God, the four Evangelists, by the cross of our Saviour, and the body of the blessed St. Peter, that from this time forth I will show all true devotion and allegiance to our lord the emperor, without prejudice to the faith I have promised to our apostolic lord ; that I will consent to no papal election which is not fully canonical,* and that whoso is thus canonically elected, shall not yet be so with my consent, until he hath first taken the oath of

* Canonical according to the statutes of the church. The Greek word *kanon* signifying direction—rule of procedure ; a canonical election is, therefore, fulfilling all required formalities.

fealty instituted by Pope Eugenius, for the general good and well being, in the presence of the ambassadors and plenipotentiaries of his Majesty the emperor."

Does not this sufficiently prove the vassalage of the popes to the emperors of the Franks? But enough; if the reader has perused our first book with attention, he must already be convinced of this.

CHAPTER II.

THE PAPACY IN ITS GLORY — PSEUDO-ISIDORE — THE THREE GREAT REPRESENTATIVE POPES.

I.—PSEUDO-ISIDORE.

THE idea of a papal monarchy began to take existence in the eighth century, and had gained definite self-consciousness by the ninth. The popes and their partisans—all, in fact, who had anything to gain by papal supremacy—thenceforth studied day and night over the plans by which the power of Rome should be still enlarged, and finally gain its triumphant realisation. The sovereignty of the Roman church over Western Christendom, was already then very generally acknowledged; but again and again opponents would arise; and many an archbishop, when indisposed to submit to the papal mandate, would laconically demand upon what grounds the bishop of Rome founded his claims to supremacy. How were these refractory brethren to be answered? So long as any temporal sovereign, especially Charlemagne, his sons, and the German kaisers, their successors, held supreme influence in the elections of the popes, and regarded the successors of St. Peter as their subjects, a Papal monarchy could not be contemplated “a government by royal Veto,” or Theocratic universal des-

potism. What course was then to be taken? The bishops of Rome, and their satellites, were well aware but two alternatives were possible to gain their end—force or fraud; and knowing in the utter ignorance and superstition of the western world, any pretensions might be advanced without exciting doubt or endangering contradiction, they discreetly resolved on the second alternative—they determined to carry out a very masterpiece of forgery and false evidence.

There had been no church statutes in the early days of Christianity, for the simple reason, there had been no church in the sense of an organised ecclesiastical system. Necessarily, certain general religious rules had after a time grown up, adopted for the most from those communities which still preserve the traditionary examples of their apostolic founders. These rules were called *kanones*, and by the second century had been carefully collated, so that each new established church might have definite indications for its guidance. These canons, or social statutes, were by no means the same in the several mother churches, and their offspring; diversities in them were very frequent, especially regarding the celebration of Easter, the baptism of heretics, &c.; and these diversities were further increased, as many heathen observances were constantly introduced into the Christian ritual by the new converts. Copies of their respective canons were mutually interchanged, however, between the churches; and though frequent and very warm disputes occurred, still opposing rules were harmonised as well as might be. One community would often complete their own set of canons by borrowing

from another, whilst a third employed this or that custom according to the practice of a fourth.

Besides these tacitly accepted rules, there were the decrees of the synods and councils, which, as we have already seen from the divergences of opinion among the early Christians, were very numerous, even in the second century; then there were the episcopal pastoral letters, for guidance in the internal discipline and general doctrines of the various churches. Church law soon began to take an organised form, and naturally the general collection of the canons as well as the rules laid down by councils and synods, were recognised as part of ecclesiastical jurisprudence. The greatest weight was, of course, attached to those canons which could be traced back to any of the apostles or their immediate disciples; such an origin was at once sufficient to command respectful recognition.* Bishop Boniface II. ordered a complete collection of all canons, decrees of council, and regulations on points of spiritual discipline to be made by the learned monk Dionisius,* who was abbot of a monastery in Rome from anno 530 to 556. In his collection were included the so-called "*Canones Apostolicæ*" and the "*Constitutiones Apostolicæ*;" apostolic rules of Church government and Christian morality supposed to be either immediately derived from the apostles, or actually inscribed by their own hand. The latter pretension is evidently unfounded, as a great many are cited which were notoriously first promulgated

* He called himself *Dionisius Exiguus* (the insignificant) in his humility. From him we derive the Dionisian reckoning—the computation of time from the birth of Christ.

in the fifth century; the world, however, reverently accepted all as genuine.* How, indeed, in the utter absence of historical criticism, would it have been possible to distinguish the true from the false. Nor need we suppose any intentional falsification. Dionisius probably adopted the various traditions of the apostles handed down generation after generation, century after century, and recorded them in all simplicity as established facts. A further collection of canons, "*Collectio canonum ecclesiæ Hispaniæ*," was made by the learned Bishop Isidore of Seville,† and though necessarily of a local character, they soon obtained great authority beyond Spain, and were subsequently enlarged and completed. The work has now great historical value, recording, as it does, the contemporary usages and observances of the church, the powers held by the bishops and metropolitans, and the duties demanded from them.

Of a very different nature was a larger edition of canons and episcopal edicts made about the middle of the ninth century, and which bore the name of the good Bishop Isidore of Seville on its title page; it was the work now known as the "*Pseudo-Isidore*,"‡ a tissue of falsehoods contrived to serve the worldly ambition of the papacy. Who really fabricated this new ecclesiastical

* The patriarchs of Constantinople and the other eastern prelates refused to acknowledge the authenticity of the first fifty canons, and they are still held as spurious by the Greek Church.

† As Seville was then called *Hispala*, he is generally known as *Isidorus Hispalensis*. Isidore wrote several theological works, and a history of the Goths from A.D. 176 to 688. He died at Seville, anno 636.

‡ The author was also called "*Isidorus Mercator, or Peccator*," the "chafferer and sinner."

codex is now quite unknown, though assuredly not he whose name it bore. It matters to us very little who was the forger, or whether he was, as many have supposed, a certain dean of Mayence cathedral, or if more than one person was concerned in it, the forgery itself need alone occupy us.

What is the purport of this "pseudo-Isidore?" Simply an exaltation of the Papacy into an universal monarchy over all Christendom. It declares "that God gave authority over Heaven and earth to the Roman see, that the pope is the sole bishop of the Catholic (universal) church, all others being but his agents and vicars, that to him, as the successor of St. Peter, it belongs to judge his brethren, that in every theological question appeal should be made to him as supreme guide, and that neither synod nor council, or any convocation of the church in its collective capacity shall have authority when not convened by papal command, and its acts authenticated by papal approval." All this was now boldly set forth as "irrefragable church canons;" nor was the author yet satisfied; he further adds, "all earthly sovereignties are properly subordinate to the papal," and says, literally rendered, "Jesus Christ alone is king and priest, and after him cometh the pope, whose power surpasseth that of kings, for kings must be consecrated through the popes, who have to render an account of the acts of kings before the Judgment Seat of God.* That the church, founded as it was by Christ

* "Solus Dominus Jesus Christus, Rex et Sacerdos, post vere dignitas Pontificum major quam Regum, quia Reges sacrantur a Pontificibus et hi pro Regibus rationem in devino examine reddituri sunt."

himself, is necessarily independent of all earthly potentates, that Christ alone, or his vicegerents, can hold authority over it, and therefore any infringement of the authority of the pope is an infringement on the omnipotence of God." In short, the canonical dogma was definitely enunciated. "Rex ego (Papa) sum Regum, lex est mea maxima legum;"* in plain English, "I, the pope, am king above all kings, my law is above all laws;" making the pope a rival or vice God, whose will it behoved all Christendom to obey without question; those who doubted his power would commit sacrilege; those who were guilty of an overt act against it, a crime to be expiated only by their death.

Such are the chief points of the "Pseudo-Isidore." It must be observed, however, the author does not enter the lists to announce such and such prerogatives must be granted the Apostolic Throne; he says, the "Apostolic Throne possesses them; these prerogatives were coeval with origin of the Church itself," existed as long as Christianity itself, and, in proof, cites certain decretals and synodial decisions from the first centuries after Christ's birth, in which precisely the same assumptions regarding the universal sovereignty of the church are made as those which began to take solid form in the eighth and ninth centuries. The new pretensions of the bishops of Rome are made as though they were but the reiteration of "old established rights." Until now, that is, until the middle of the ninth century,

* From this dogma later exponents of the Kanons have deduced the conclusion, "Papa est causa causarum,"—"the cause of causes". Thence, also, the dogma, "Papa est supra jus, contra jus et extra jus,"—"the pope is above the law, against the law, and beyond the law").

no one had heard of these so-called "rights descended from the primitive centuries;" until now they had never been referred to in any collection of canons or recognised ecclesiastical statutes, but was their genuineness to be therefore questioned! especially as the popes speedily acted up to the new codex which Nicholas I. (858-67) positively certified as authentic. Could any one dare suggest forgery or interpolation, when the old decretals and canons included in the collection of Isidorus of Seville and Father Dionisius were also in the new codex, thus putting the stamp of truth on the entire compilation? Moreover, how little probable was any suspicion of such interpolation to present itself in an age of universal ignorance, when all classes were accustomed to yield the most implicit obedience to their spiritual guides? Yet how easy it would have been then for any one with some knowledge of history and the Latin tongue to have exposed the whole juggle!

Astounding enough it is how so shameless, so crude a tissue of lies as this Pseudo-Isidore could have been recognised for 600 years as the chief authority for the prerogatives of the church, bearing, as it did, its own refutation in well nigh every page. The collection commences with sixty letters from the earliest bishops of Rome, from Clement to Melchiades (anno 91 to 311), and attributes words and phrases to the holy men which were never in use earlier than the sixth century. Passages from the letters of Leo the Great and Gregory the Great (bishops of Rome) were quoted, though Leo had received the mitre in 440, and Gregory in 590, some centuries after the date supposed. To complete the an-

achronism these sixty letters were followed by certain edicts and canons, spurious and genuine mixed together, and in the former, which are all dated from the first centuries, reference is constantly made to "patriarchs, archbishops, and even to popes, though any conception of such dignitaries did not exist until several hundred years later, and the very titles had not yet been invented. The work is written in a Latin so corrupt that every leaf betrays its monkish origin; Germanisms and barbarous idioms of all kinds occur in it which were totally unknown to Italy of those first three hundred years. To complete the absurdity, passages from the Bible are quoted word for word after the translation of St. Jerome, which had not been completed until anno 400, and several citations even from works written in / the seventh century.

There can, in fact, be no question as to the spuriousness of the book: the only point contestable is the actual date of its appearance. On the papal side, it was attributed to Bishop Isidore, of Seville, to give it greater moral credit; and possibly, the majority of believers in the ninth and tenth centuries fully accepted this explanation. We, however, may feel assured it was not written before anno 830, as there are decrees cited in it pronounced by the Synod of Paris in 829. Again; it could not have appeared after 857, as Charles the Bald appealed to "this monster historical sham," as Weber calls it in that year, but in such a manner, that we may conclude it was already well known. The Pseudo-Isidore was thus probably fabricated between 830 and 857. There only then remains the question,—who was the

fabricator? The reader will need little aid in finding an answer. Who would derive the greatest advantage from such a work?—the bishops of Rome; therefore, it needs but little acumen to conclude that, if they did not actually write it with their own hands, to them its inspiration was due. The monstrous pretence of the Emperor Constantine's gift to the successors of St. Peter made its appearance in the Pseudo-Isidore for the first time—alone a sufficient refutation of the book and its assumptions.

The popes made their contemporaries believe in the Pseudo-Isidore;* and by the Pseudo-Isidore convinced the world the papacy had been founded by Christ himself; by it, succeeded in putting their foot on the necks of kings and their vassals alike, and established an universal sovereignty unprecedented in the history of the world. They succeeded in this; but what were the results likely to follow?

* The Pseudo-Isidore is still the basis of papal canon law. When, for example, towards the middle of the twelfth century, the Camaldulensian monk, Franciscus Gratianus, discontinued his studies in the monastery of St. Francis, at Bologna, to edit his "*Concordia canonum discordantium*," (concluded in 1150), he took the whole Isidore collection, true and false; and the popes not only approved his book, but recommended it as a work on ecclesiastical law to the various universities. This "*Concordantia*" was subsequently entitled, "*Decretum Gratiani*:" and thus the Pseudo-Isidore became the foundation of Catholic canonical law; for the additions made subsequently, viz., the five books of papal edicts collected by Raimond de Pennafort, 1234, at the command of Gregory IX., the sixth book, added under Boniface VIII., 1298, and the seventh under Clement V. (1313), from their inferior importance were entitled the "*extra*," as a mark of their lesser import.

II.—NICHOLAS I., CALLED THE GREAT, 858—867.

The Church Ban.

The first pope who completely conceived the full meaning of his title, and the first who officially recognised the Pseudo-Isidore as canon law, and so employed it, was Pope Nicholas I. A Roman by birth, he united in his person the pride of the Spaniard, the cunning of the Greek, and the resolution of the Englishman. He treated bishops as his menials, deemed the Christian world his vassal kingdom, addressed princes as their king, and kings as though he were an incarnate divinity. The German emperor, Ludwig, fell so completely under the glamour, that on visiting Rome, when the pope came forth to meet him he reverently dismounted, to lead, for a full bow shot, the steed bestrode by the ecclesiastical potentate.

By four things chiefly did Nicholas assert his claims, not as a mere chief bishop, but as supreme suzerain of the West:—his coronation; his conduct towards the patriarchs of Constantinople; his victory over the French bishops; and lastly, by his influence over the temporal sovereigns of his time.

The coronation* of the popes originated, indeed, with

* It is curious to observe, and we shall subsequently often have occasion to do so, that the popes and their church have borrowed all the ceremonies of Romanism alike from the Persians, Indians, Egyptians, Greeks and Romans. The crown worn by the ancient monarchs of Persia, Herodotus tells us, was called a tiara: that adopted by the popes is only an imitation of it. The latter bears three jewel-covered diadems, the topmost one surmounted by a ball and cross of gems. It is worth several hundred thousand pounds. Such is the tiara at present;

Nicholas I. He it was who first had the papal crown placed on his brow within St. Peter's. No previous Roman bishop probably ever contemplated such a triumph, or if he had, his subjection to the emperor must have left his dreams without hope of fulfilment. Nicholas I. made the emperor, or rather the weakness and bigotry of the emperor, the most effective tool to his ambition; and his coronation was accomplished in the presence of Ludwig II., then staying at Rome. The original crown was, we confess, of far simpler character than the tiara* of modern days, which is perfectly incrustated with gems, and symbolises the wearer's jurisdiction over earth, heaven and hell.

But the point of chief import was not the mere gold and glitter of the tiara; it was that, unlike the episcopal mitres the earlier popes had worn, the triple crown was distinguished by those symbols of majesty which de-

that of Nicholas was less pretentious. If we may trust ecclesiastical legend, it was the very crown sent to Rome by King Chlodwig, on his conversion. Boniface VIII., the founder of the "Year of Jubilee," first assumed a double round of royalty, to symbolise his authority over both worldly and spiritual things. Clement V. added the third crown, thus announcing the pope as head and representative of the suffering, struggling, and triumphant church. The triple tiara is also called the "Regnum," i.e., sovereignty over the world.

* The episcopal mitre was derived from the mitra,—oriental designation for a peculiar turban-like cap, worn by certain of the Asiatics. In the East, it was called an "inful," or infula,—a Latin designation for a white woollen head cloth, which the priests and vestals of heathen Rome bound about their heads, after the fashion of the orientals. This practice passed to the Christian priesthood on the conversion of Italy to Christianity. "Infulire," is to grant permission to assume a mitre. This right of granting was retained by the popes in their own hands, and many an abbot and prior procured the mitre—thanks to a heavy purse.

clared to the world that he who wore it was chief and king over all other bishops. Succeeding pontiffs grasped fully the typical meaning of the coronation, and each directed its celebration in such imposing wise, that the solemnities employed by the emperors on assuming their crown, scarce equalled in splendour those contrived by the popes. In illustration, we need but recal the coronation of Pope Boniface VIII. (1295), when Apostolic majesty proceeded to St. Peter's at the head of a gorgeous procession,—the King of Apulia holding his bridle on the right hand, the King of Naples on the left; or the coronation of Paul II. (1464), who, having caused the tiara to be so incrustated with gems, and arrayed himself in such sumptuous, effeminate apparel, that a spectator might have imagined the Phrygian goddess, Cytherea, was indulging in a triumphal procession with a tower of diamonds on her head; or that of Pope Leo X., in 1515, which was conducted with so reckless a profusion, that the money scattered among the people in the streets, alone amounted to more than a million florins.

But we must return to Nicholas I., and his policy towards the patriarch of Constantinople, and we shall find as striking proof of his tact, as of his ambition. We have already seen, that when the patriarchates of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, had been swept away in the Mohammedan conquest, the rival sees of Rome and Constantinople were alone left to contest the primacy of Christendom.

Each endeavoured again and again to obtain mastery over the other, but neither had yet succeeded. It happened, however, that in the time of Pope Nicholas I.,

the Greek patriarch, Ignatius, having insulted an ambassador of the Emperor Michael, he was deprived of his dignities, and Photius, the commander of the imperial body-guard, put in his place by the Emperor Michael.

Then issued a threatening schism among the subject-bishops of the patriarchate: some held to Ignatius; others to Photius; both factions anathematising each other to the best of their power, though without any farther result. Photius, though a layman, had this point in his favour; he had actual possession of the patriarchal chair; and, moreover, the better to overcome his opponent, he determined to secure the goodwill of the bishop of Rome, hoping thus the opposition of the other bishops would be much more easily allayed. He, doubtless, did not reflect, that such an appeal to the Roman Court implied, to a certain extent, the recognition of its supreme right of judicature; he was simply bent on gaining the patriarchal dignity, quite indifferent to the future cost of his triumph. Nicholas saw the matter from a very different point of view, and when the Emperor Michael, at the instance of his favourite, sent an embassy to Rome to inform the pope of the deprivation of Ignatius, and negotiate his recognition of Photius as successor, Nicholas avoided giving any definite reply, and declared the question must be investigated by his legates. Thus seizing the opportunity offered to play the supreme arbiter over the eastern church, as his predecessors had more or less successfully done over the western.

Papal legates arrived at Constantinople, bringing with them several letters from their master for the emperor

and Photius, and proposed commencing their investigations ; but the Emperor Michael quite disarranged their plans on finding they were not prepared to recognise Photius at once ; he had them seized, and thrown into a wretched dungeon, where the unfortunate diplomatists were left for more than three months, and threatened, if they longer opposed his wishes, they should be carried into some desolate land, and left to perish of misery and hunger. Brought to a more amenable frame of mind by these proceedings, the legates finally acknowledged Photius as patriarch, at a council summoned at Constantinople, which was attended by three hundred and eighteen bishops.

In the meantime Ignatius made his way to Rome, and besought his spiritual brother there to refuse all countenance to the sacrilegious captain of the body-guard. He had previously written to Nicholas on the subject, addressing him as the "Most Sacred President and Patriarch of all Episcopal Sees, the successor of the Prince of the Apostles, and Universal Pope." This was much more than ever Photius proffered, and Nicholas at once espoused the cause of the deposed dignitary, in the anticipation that should success attend his advocacy, supremacy over the whole Eastern church would be his reward. He called a great synod at Rome, stated the case to the assembled prelates, and Photius was denounced as an "intruder within the church," declared "incapable of holding any priestly function or dignity ; and further, should he persist in retaining the patriarchal chair, he should be excommunicated, and held as a heathen ; all those who in any way might

aid and abet him, should have no part in the body and blood of Christ (the sacrament) until death." Ignatius was then formally recognised as the rightful patriarch; "and all who might in any way hinder him in the discharge of his functions, anathematised to all eternity."

It was an excommunication in the fullest meaning of the word, and Nicholas at once included in it his own two legates, who had recognised Photius in his name. But the result? Michael, on the advice of Photius, immediately convened another great Council at Constantinople, caused Pope Nicholas to be charged with the most flagrant sins, and rested not until it had excommunicated the Roman pontiff, and all those in any way connected with him. So ban followed ban with reciprocal thunder. Excommunication opposed excommunication, and anathema anathema. But of what avail was all this to Pope Nicholas? Did Photius therefore abdicate? Did it extend Roman supremacy one iota further? The results were very different; they were in the complete and lasting schism of the two churches;*

* It is true there are some slight doctrinal differences between the Greek and the Roman Catholics, as in the dogma of the Trinity; the former holding the Holy Ghost does not proceed from the Two Other Persons, and in the use of unleavened bread for the sacrament, the question of celibacy, &c.; but these differences were all too slight to have led to a separation. The originating cause of the schism was in the pretensions of the popes to supremacy over the patriarchate of Constantinople; and since the dispute with Nicholas and Photius, no lasting reconciliation has ever been effected.

The last and final separation occurred on July 24th, 1054, when Pope Leo IX. excommunicated Michael Cærularius, the Bull of anathema being read by the papal legates, Umbertus and Petrus, from the

a schism which still separates the Christianity of the east from that of the western world.

The third point by which Nicholas openly asserted his claims as pope and suzerain of Christendom, was in his treatment of the French bishops, when the most complete victory awaited him. It happened that a certain bishop, Rothadius of Soissons, was deposed by his metropolitan, Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims, but with the consent of a provincial synod summoned for the occasion. Rothadius appealed to the "Papa Universalis," and Nicholas I., well pleased at this opportunity of exercising his supremacy, commanded the archbishop to allow Rothadius to proceed to Rome, and either accompany him in person, or send some authorised representative, that after hearing both parties, he, the pope, might decide between them. Hincmar, however, not only refused to obey this behest, but caused Rothadius to be seized, thrown into prison, and ordained another bishop in his stead. Such an answer was little likely to satisfy Nicholas, and he immediately notified to all the bishops, participators in the guilty synod, that every appeal to the apostolic chair must be respected, under penalty of the ban; and therefore, if they did not immediately dispatch Rothadius to Rome, with proper ambassadors from their own body, that the case might be fully investigated, the same fate would befall them as

chancel of Santa Sophia. Since then many attempts have been made at re-union, but they have always failed. After Russia became Greek-Catholic, its conversion being effected by St. Wladimir, in 988, all hope of reconciliation might have been renounced, as the question of supremacy would always offer an effectual stumbling block.

that which they had imposed on Rothadius. At the same time Hincmar was commanded to set his prisoner at liberty, or prepare for despotism and excommunication.

Hincmar, and his episcopal adherents unhesitatingly replied :—firstly, “that Bishop Rothadius had been condemned by the only tribunal fully competent to judge the case—the provincial synod presided over by his metropolitan ; secondly, that according to the laws recognised in France since the days of the Emperor Charlemagne, no person condemned by synodal decision, could claim any right of appeal.” The laws were clear enough on this point, and it might seem the pope would have a difficult task to controvert them. He appealed to the famous “Pseudo-Isidore,” and proved from those convenient forgeries, that not alone were all laws enacted by temporal sovereigns at once rendered null and void the moment they came in conflict with the canons of the church (thus declaring the complete suzerainty of Rome), but that St. Peter’s throne was placed above all provincial synods, national synods, or even oecumenical councils ; and, therefore, all disputants on matters concerning the church, were bound to submit their differences, “unconditionally,” and completely, for the pope’s decision. Such doctrines were little palatable to Hincmar and his colleagues ; but Nicholas pronounced them with such boldness, and quoted the spurious authorities with such perfect self-possession, declaring them true as the Holy Bible itself, that the synod, which apparently never dreamed of fraud in the matter, grew alarmed, fearing the pope might really

carry out his threats of excommunication, and overwhelm them in endless troubles and difficulties. Besides, Nicholas had appealed to Charles the Bald, son of Louis the Pious, and grandson of Charlemagne, and induced that weak-headed bigot both to espouse his cause and command "Rothadius to proceed to Rome, and explain his case there."

It seemed probable, that any longer misunderstanding with the pope would involve a quarrel with the king of France also ; so Hincmar determined to set Rothadius at liberty, always "reserving" his own archiepiscopal prerogatives. This had scarcely been effected when a new brief arrived from Rome, to summon Rothadius thither on some matter of "high import" to him ; and he, of course, lost no time in obeying. After cursory investigation of this case by certain high dignitaries, Nicholas decreed the restitution of his mitre to the deposed bishop in the most solemn wise, and his immediate reinvestiture with the see of Soissons. With this decree in his pocket, and accompanied by the papal ambassador extraordinary, Rothadius returned to France, and, thanks to the ambassador, succeeded in regaining his dignities. This was the first triumphant appearance of the famous Isidorian codex ; for, though the French bishops might register their protests against the deductions drawn from it, and declare that every rule of Church government might thus be set at nought, and every evil doer in the priesthood incited to appeal to Rome against the decisions of his rightful judges, their protests were of very little account,—they were but so many empty words,

whilst the pope could point to an accomplished fact in the triumph of his will.

Nicholas was not less victorious in his struggle for supremacy with Lothair II. of Lorraine, and transmitted to all future popes a proof that their place was "above" all earthly kings and rulers. King Lothair, son of Kaiser Lothair I., and grandson of Charlemagne, had separated from his wife, Thulberga, and was very desirous to procure a formal divorce in order to marry a certain fair Valdrade. To assist this design, he charged Thulberga with an improper intimacy with a young noble of the court, and convened his parliament to decide the case. The queen, in the consciousness of her innocence, demanded the ordeal by boiling water, and passed triumphantly through it, though it was not her own royal hand that was plunged into the caldron to lift the ring from the bottom: in consideration of her rank she had been allowed a substitute to fulfil the test in her stead. In consequence of this divine manifestation, Lothair was obliged to desist from any further proceedings against his consort, but he continued to treat her so cruelly she was obliged to seek refuge with his uncle, Charles the Bald, of France. Lothair then gained over Archbishop Guenter, of Cologne, and Teutgaut of Trêves, and they having summoned a synod at Aachen, he demanded from it a formal divorce from his fugitive spouse; and the monarch's desire was speedily complied with. The justice or legality of these proceedings can scarcely now be determined; but there is little doubt the royal treasury felt severely the cost of episcopal

pliancy. Be this as it may, Lothair was unwedded by synodal decree, and immediately afterwards united to Valdrade. But he was not to come off so lightly. Thulberga, by the advice of King Charles, lost no time in appealing to Nicholas, and entreated him with "tearful letters" (*lacrimosis literis*, for so the pope called them) to grant her his support. Such an opportunity of enacting the judge over a royal offender was not to be lost; for though the predecessors of Nicholas had uttered no word at the three or four divorces by which Charlemagne relieved himself of successive consorts, and totally ignored his many concubines, Nicholas well knew he had no Carolus Magnus in Lothair; besides, time had brought great changes since the death of the redoubtable emperor. He forthwith sent two legates to the court of Lothair, and informed the king they were fully empowered to investigate this subtle business of the divorce, adding, "Lothair and his consort shall present themselves before a synod appointed by said legates, when he the Pope will decide on the validity or non-validity of the divorce." The legates, immediately on their arrival in Lorraine, proceeded to call a national synod at Metz, at which the archbishops of Cologne and Trêves both attended; and their influence, with that of the royal gold, worked so convincing on the papal representatives, and on the majority of the members, that a very different decision was arrived at to that anticipated at Rome. The synod of Metz fully confirmed the acts of its predecessor at Aachen, and recognised Valdrade as the legitimate consort of the king. Lothair at length hoped to enjoy the society of his new wife in peace, and

despatched archbishops Guenter and Teutgaut to announce the important verdict. Nicholas had, however, been kept so well informed of all that passed by his spies, that their graces were not a little surprised by the manner of the reception awaiting them. The pope, in fact, at once summoned a synod at Rome, when all the decisions made by that of Metz were rescinded,—a ban of excommunication pronounced against the two legates and the two archbishops as abettors of adultery. They were deprived of all their dignities, and pronounced incapable from thenceforth of sitting in any ecclesiastical court, or administering any ecclesiastical affairs.

Such an employment of prerogative (the pope pronounced judgment without having instituted any inquiries—without hearing either witnesses or defendants) greatly incensed the archbishops; and, as the emperor, Louis II., brother of Lothair, was then holding his court at Benevento, previous to commencing a crusade against the Saracens, they hastened to lay their grievances before him;—how they had been disgraced, without the consent of their sovereign or a national synod, by an act, in open defiance of all ecclesiastical precedent,—one, too, which would really constitute the pope the supreme power in Christendom. Probably, feeling the justice of the reclamation, the emperor at once addressed a letter of remonstrance to the pope, but Nicholas was immovable; and then his lord suzerain (for as such the emperor regarded himself) resolved to go in person to Rome, and bring this refractory vassal to a more becoming frame of mind.

Louis proceeded to Rome with queen, court, and army,

and pitched his camp at no great distance from St. Peter's, where His Holiness had taken refuge. The Romans, as on all like occasions, were divided into two factions,—the one friendly, the other hostile to the pope; whilst the latter was giving vent to their triumph, the former went in solemn procession to St. Peter's, entreating heaven to turn the heart of the emperor. The pious cortège came by chance into conflict with the imperial guards; the latter had recourse to their weapons, and a good many banners and crosses got broken in the fray. This sacrilege terribly embittered the partisans of Nicholas, especially as among the damaged crucifixes was one containing a fragment of the true cross. A soldier died, too, that night; and the idea spread quickly among the people that the wrath of God would sweep away the blasphemous spoilers. Fortune decreed the emperor should fall ill of a fever the next day; and as he, like all the descendants of Louis the Pious, was very bigoted and superstitious, he allowed himself to be persuaded by his still more superstitious consort that the anger of the Almighty had fallen on him, and his only hope of escape from death was, by reconciliation with the pope. The empress proceeded forthwith to assure His Holiness he might quit his sanctuary without danger, and at the same time arrange an interview between him and her husband. The interview took place; its consequences may easily be imagined. The Carolingian was readily enough outwitted by a Nicholas. He dutifully promised his support against Lothair, and to withdraw all countenance from the two archbishops, who now found but cold hospitality in the imperial

court. Both prelates formally protested and excommunicated the pope, leaving the brief of anathema on St. Peter's shrine, and endeavoured, on returning to their sees of Cologne and Trêves, to resume their sacred functions as before. Here they were met with fresh humiliations : King Lothair, at the command of his brother, through whose intercession he hoped to make peace with the pope, now forcibly deposed his former friends. Even this act of servility proved of no use to the craven tyrant, Nicholas, fully awake to the puppet impotence of his late antagonist, now denounced the ban of the church against Valdrade, and threatened to include the king in it also, if he continued to treat her as his wife ; even threatened to absolve the Franks from their oath of allegiance,—for, “no vassal need obey him who defied the will of God !” The last menace had the required effect. Lothair succumbed in terror, for his person and crown ; and the pope's resoluteness won a triumph greater than any obtained by his boldest predecessors,—he compelled a temporal sovereign to humble himself at his behest. The world, cleric and lay, was not a little startled by such a phenomenon ; but dame Valdrade being as much detested as Queen Thulberga was beloved, every one was well pleased at the defect and disgrace of the venal archbishops : nor was the satisfaction less sincere in the humiliation of the contemptible despot, Lothair. Men thought not of the future ; and papal arrogance was overlooked for the sake of the good it had been the means of achieving. But the world was soon disillusioned.

From thenceforth the popes continued to assert their

claims, not alone as supreme head of the church, but as a suzerain over every temporal monarch. Let us now observe the means Pope Nicholas employed in bringing Lothair to submission. They were merely in the excommunication of Valdrade and threat of excommunicating her royal lover. With so great a power thus lying in the "ban," it is time we should investigate that which plays so redoubtable a part in papal history.

We have already, in our first book, seen the origin of excommunication and its effect in excluding the offender from the Christian brotherhood. It was originally employed only against heretics and criminals, and could not be pronounced but by the whole body of the faithful in each community. Subsequently exercised by the bishops in the name of their flocks, it soon became a very important arm in their frequent religious and canonical disputes. Every ecclesiastic eagerly availed himself of this fiat of "exclusion" against those who presumed to hold different views from his own on matters of church discipline or dogma. It must not be supposed the practice was a purely Christian invention; it came, like so many others, from the Jewish law, and was merely improved and amplified by the bishops. The Jews recognised two kinds of anathema: the first, "Nid-dui," the "lesser" curse enforced exclusion from the synagogue for thirty years; occasionally the sentence was made more severe by the additional prohibition against any of the faithful holding communication with the offender during that time; the ban was then called the "Cherim." If, after the lapse of the prescribed term, the excommunicate showed no signs of amendment, the second stage

commenced, "Schammatha," or "Anathema maranatha," complete and life-long exclusion from all intercourse with his nation, and destitution of political rights, pronounced with the most fearful imprecations. Originally the first degree was alone employed by Christians, for until Christianity became a state religion, the ban could not affect the political position of an offender. Later, the church amply repaid itself for its earlier enforced moderation, instituting the "greater," in addition to the lesser ban. The latter excluded the offender from the sacrament of communion, and from public worship; any bishop had authority to pronounce it, though it ceased as soon as the excommunicate had repented, or at least satisfied the penances imposed by church discipline. The "great anathema," or banishment from the spiritual fold of Christ throughout the world, could not be entrusted to every mere bishop; it remained in the keeping of the chief shepherds of the church, and soon became a terrible power in the hands of the patriarchs, especially those of Constantinople and Rome. The holy fathers took every means for increasing the severity of the penalties, especially by including in them the "exclusion from all public offices," and "loss of all rights of citizenship." The ceremonies employed in these denunciations, aided by the crass superstition of the middle ages, ensured their complete success. The excommunication was pronounced under curses so fearful that every believer might well shrink from them aghast, whilst the offender was made over to the devil to all eternity. One of the "anathemas," literally translated from the Latin, declares, "These sons of

Belial* shall be cut off as a rotten member from the body of Christ, driven from every church, and cast out from the brotherhood of Christians. They shall be excommunicated, and cursed in walking, in standing, in waking and sleeping, in going forth and in returning, in eating and drinking, even their food and drink, and the fruit of their loins, and all their possessions shall be cursed. They shall suffer all the plagues of Herod, which shall cease not until their bowels have burst asunder. They shall be hunted from the face of the earth, even as Dathan and Abiron, and descend among Satan and his devils, to be tortured without end through all eternity. Their children shall be orphans, their wives widowed; their children shall be carried away to far countries, that they (the accursed) may be left to beg their bread. Their fathers shall even be driven from their homes and possessions, and the CURSE OF THE NEW AND THE OLD TESTAMENT SHALL FALL ON THEM." Such was the anathema denounced by the holy father of Rome, Christ's vicegerent, He who preached love and charity. And though now any person of moderate intelligence can but laugh at the monstrous presumption of such claims by any one man over the future of another, the case was very different in the middle ages, when thought and knowledge were alike banished from Europe, when religion had become a mere outward formalism, and unlimited reverence, nearly approaching actual

* The author of this anathema was Pope Benedict VIII. (1012-24); he had fulminated it against certain persons who had deprived the Monastery of Clugni of some of its lands. It may be read in letter, still extant, from Benedict to Archbishop Burchardt of Lyons.

worship, was accorded to the pope and higher dignitaries of the hierarchy. A man so cursed might well expire of very terror; he was an outlaw, a castaway, with whom no good citizen or faithful Christian could hold converse, whose nearest kin his very wife and children were bound to renounce. In truth, the ban had such effects that not only several synods during the eighth and ninth centuries, especially one held at Pavia, solemnly declared that a person so accursed was incapable of holding any public office, and, in accordance with the pseudo-Isidore, became utterly degraded (*ehrlös*), forfeited all worldly possessions, was incapable of giving evidence, or bringing a suit at law: that his oath was null and void, that he could not devise any property by will: in one word, had ceased to be a member of the body politic, and could exercise no rights as such, and therefore whosoever should remove him like a rotten sheep from among the fold incurred no sin, but would well merit praise for the act.* Such were the consequences entailed by this anathema. The culprit became an object of loathing to all; servants, friends, kindred, turned from him as from a condemned felon; no one would supply him with the common necessities of life, though he paid for them never so liberally: no one tended him in sickness, or closed his eyes in the hour of death. A coffin was placed at his threshold, he was hurriedly hidden in it and thrust underground in some lonely unconsecrated spot, for he was cursed in death, and this curse so clung to his body that the very ele-

* Pope Urban II. employed these words concerning Bishop Godfredo of Lucca, and thenceforth they were formally adopted.

ments refused to take back its atoms, and it was condemned to remain for ever a horror and a reproach. Such was the belief of those times, and the results were alike whether the offender were of high or humble rank ; or, to speak more correctly, whether he was " of more or less elevated," for on the vulgar herd the pope had no anathemas to bestow ; they could neither stand in the way of his ambition, nor be of any direct service to his plans. Excommunication was much the more overwhelming and electric in its action when a reigning sovereign was the victim, for his royal domains were made forfeit by it like the private property of an ordinary mortal ; " he was deposed, his vassals absolved from their oath of allegiance, until such time as he had made his peace with Rome."

It will thus readily be conceived, how King Lothair, obstinate despot as he was, bowed so meekly beneath the hand of Nicholas. No previous pope had ever ventured on such a step, still less had dared menace refractory royalty with insurrection, and rupture of allegiance in its vassals ; to him belongs the glory as inventor of the " king's ban," which proved the most terrible weapon ever wielded by mortal hand. All that subsequently was added to it, was but the completion, the perfection of original idea.

Yet excommunication or anathema naturally affected only certain specified individuals, and none but those actually under the sentence were liable to its penalties. When a king or prince regnant was excommunicated, the ban still did not extend beyond his person, though its purpose was, of course, to bring the offender in

speedy contrition to the foot of the papal throne. To secure this end more effectually, Nicholas contemplated exciting a rebellion among King Lothair's subjects; but the fact remained undecided, whether a nation could thus be revolutionised at the word of a pope, or so quickly as might seem desirable. So the hierarchs at Rome anxiously bethought them whether there might not be some means by which the subjects of an excommunicated sovereign could be forced into a renunciation of their allegiance; and then they invented the interdict, the crown and climax of the "king's ban."

The ancient Romans employed an interdict—a prohibition (*interdicere*) of water and fire; or, in other words, the banishment of the offender. According to papal law, an interdict of the church is a "suppression of all and every religious office and observance throughout a district or kingdom;" and this form of canonical discipline first came into active existence under Gregory V. (996-99), a worthy follower of the first Nicholas. King Robert of France had married a Princess Bertha, his own fourth cousin, and daughter of the king of Burgundy. Though a love match, it had the very practical advantage of bringing Burgundy to the French crown; and in consideration of this, perhaps, the French bishops were content to pass over the consanguinity of the pair, and grant the king full dispensation. Indeed, the archbishop of Tours, with a great number of his episcopal brethren, assisted at the marriage. So far all went well; but the fact of Burgundy lapsing to France was highly distasteful to Kaiser Otho III., and as the reigning pope was a German by extraction, and a rela-

tive of the imperial house, the emperor immediately demanded a synod should be convened at Rome, to declare the union of Robert and Bertha incestuous. Gregory V. obeyed, and bade the king of France to put away his consort under pain of excommunication, and perform a seven years' penance for the sin he had committed. The pope at the same time suspended the archbishop of Tours from his functions, as well as all the other prelates, present either at the marriage, or the synod which had granted the dispensation. A marriage within the fourth degree of affinity was solemnly prohibited, so declared the Isidorian decretal, and no dispensation for one valid, unless granted by the pope himself. The bishops and archbishop, probably remembering the fate of Hincmar, very quickly submitted, and were pardoned; the king set the pope at defiance, and refused to part from his wife. The pope threatened, and again threatened, even a third time; but Robert of France little heeded the menaces of Rome. Then Gregory thundered out sentence of interdict, not merely against the stiffnecked monarch and his consort, but against all France!

All France was declared under the ban, and from the moment when the thunderbolt launched from the Vatican fell, no single ordinance of the church could be performed throughout the whole land. Of course the pope could only hope to carry out a sentence of this kind when the clergy of the country were on his side; in this instance they unanimously were so, and he carried it out. At once every church door was closed, and the priests refused to perform any of their religious func-

tions. Nowhere—in city, village, or baronial castle,* was divine worship celebrated. There was neither baptism or marriage, nor pilgrimages, nor partaking of the sacrament of communion; chimes from church bells nor funeral processions, without sacred songs or penitential prayers, the dead were hidden away beneath unconsecrated ground; and new born babes, as no priest pronounced their admission into the Christian fold, were like the children of the heathen, delivered over to the power of Satan and sorcerors. All dances and public amusements were prohibited, the lover forbid to salute his mistress, the husband's embrace was cursed, friend meeting friend dared give no customary greeting. The whole country grew well nigh mad with terror, and the sick and the dying beheld eternal torments awaiting them in the next world, for they could hope for no absolution† in this.

What alternative was left the king! Queen Bertha threw herself on her knees at his feet, and besought

* Afterwards, when the interdict was more frequently employed, the popes mercifully, and for a "consideration," allowed certain religious offices to be fulfilled. Mass might be heard on payment of twenty-five ducats, for thirty a child baptised, and so forth. Money was still allowed to open the gates of heaven, even during an interdict; and only the poor or the miserly need fear the penalties of utter damnation. It is clear the popes understood fully the numismatic value of an interdict; how vast the sums derived from one were, may easily be imagined, when we remember that after its removal, every church, chapel, and miracle-working image, &c., had to be re-consecrated.

† We need feel no surprise the ignorant masses in those days of universal darkness believed in the efficacy of these papal curses, when the very clergy were self deluded. Bishop Gerhard, of Toul, who died in 944, having been under the necessity of pronouncing the lesser ban against certain knights guilty of highway robbery, always absolved

him to restore happiness to his country, by obedience to Rome. From all corners of France came news of the insurrections imminent, and the king at length had only two servants left to attend his person, who, however devoted, still carefully avoided tasting any food touched by their master. The very beggars refused anything that had been served at the royal table, or the clothes once worn by the excommunicated king, so both food and raiment were alike burned when not required by him. King Robert was thus forced to submission, and he submitted—though the struggle was a very hard one.

The interdict conquered him, as the mere threat of the anathema had overcome Lothair a hundred years earlier, and the popes learned how the great ones of the earth might be humbled in the dust at their footstool.

III.—GREGORY VII. (1073-86) AND CELIBACY.

From the time of Nicholas I., no Roman pontiff had neglected to make his prerogatives felt, both as supreme head of the church, and chief of all earthly potentates. When, therefore, Charles the Bald, towards the close of his life, having gradually inherited all the possessions of his great ancestor, Charlemagne, and growing desirous to be crowned emperor, like him, the reigning pope, John VIII. (872-82) at once informed his majesty under what conditions he would conduct the ceremony, and the king, whose head was as scantily furnished inter-

them at eve, for fear they might die suddenly ere the morning, and as regularly cursed them again when it arrived. The loss of eternal salvation seemed to the good bishop too heavy a penalty for mere highway robbery.

nally as externally, at once consented to them. The succeeding popes acted in the same spirit. Gregory V., for example, of whom we have already spoken, Sylvester II. (999-1000), the arbiter of Hungary,* &c. Sylvester, ere attaining the papacy, had been a staunch opponent of the Isidorian decretal, but the tiara completely changed his views. The crowning triumph of his life, was the authorisation he gave Duke Stephen of Hungary to assume the Hungarian crown; for the duke's appeal to Rome upon the subject, became, at once, in the papal mind, a legal title for the future disposal of the new kingdom. Sylvester, of course, consented to crown Duke Stephen, giving him the title of "Apostolic Majesty," and a magnificent diadem, made expressly at Constantinople, as the artificers of the west were less gifted for such work. We cannot pretend in these scant pages, to enumerate all the proofs of humility given by each individual pope, and must confine ourselves to the acts of the three representative pontiffs whom we have called so, as they were the prototypes on whom all the rest moulded their conduct. A second representative, "papa universalis," though one far greater even than Nicholas I., was the famous Gregory VII., that Napoleon among popes—and the reader, who knows anything of the great Corsican, can readily understand what might be expected from a pope of a like mould.

In the year 1020 a certain blacksmith of Poana, in

* Sylvester II. was a very learned man, formerly a monk of Ancillac, and afterwards tutor to Otho III. His protégé, Duke Stephen, was afterwards canonised by Gregory VII. for his docility in soliciting the crown from the pope.

Tuscany, had a son born to him whom he christened Hildebrand, and shortly afterwards made over to the care of his maternal uncle, abbot of a monastery in Rome. As the boy grew up weakly in person, but of singular intellectual capacity, his guardian resolved he should enter a monastic order. Hildebrand received the tonsure at Rome, studied with unwearied perseverance, and whilst still a lad gave indications of the genius which was to subjugate the world. There was one religious fraternity still distinguished for its strict discipline and rigid piety in marked contrast to the rest, which were, without exception, sunken in the lowest vice and licentiousness. The monks followed the stern rule of St. Benedict, and were usually called the Cluniacensi, from the renowned abbey of Clugny, from whence the reform of the order had originated. Hildebrand held it his mission to enter this order. He proceeded to Clugny to complete his studies, and the reader will well understand that whilst acquiring the unbending discipline of the establishment, he imbibed those principles of stern resolve to which he remained faithful his whole life; but ambition seems to have held a large share in the brain of this ascetic lad of twenty, for on hearing that a certain Hadrian, one of his school mates, had taken the first steps towards the highest ecclesiastical post at Rome, he immediately returned thither to test his own fortunes. Hildebrand speculated well. Hadrian, in 1044, "bought" the tiara of Benedict IX. (who, but twenty-three years of age, had already worn it during eleven), and the new pontiff assumed his dignities as Gregory VI., despite the rival pretensions of the bishop of Sabina, who claimed St.

Peter's chair as Sylvester III. Hildebrand was shortly afterwards appointed sub-deacon by Gregory, and though the office seemed but a humble one, it in reality opened a wide field to the aspirants' ambition. The youthful sub-deacon came into constant personal intercourse with the new pope, and used his peculiar opportunities both to establish his own influence, and study thoroughly the papal system of government, more especially to learn the whole truth of the demoralisation into which the vices of those who held St. Peter's chair, during the latter part of the preceding century, had plunged the Roman court. Unfortunately, the government of Gregory VI. lasted but a brief period. Kaiser Henry III. learning too much of the wild licentiousness prevalent in the Christian capital, proceeded thither and summoned a council at Subi, attended by nearly all the bishops of Italy, who, after brief consultation, formally deposed the three contemporary popes, Gregory VI., Sylvester III., and Benedict IX., as simonists and violators of the papal dignity, and for the sinfulness and shamelessness of their private life. Benedict sought safety in flight,*

* Benedict had been twelve years of age when a dominant patrician family at Rome elected him to the chair of St. Peter. His vicious precocity was so great, that at fourteen he was already an example of the worst depravity, as the succeeding pope, Victor III., unhesitatingly declared him. When murder, rape, and robbery became too flagrant under his rule to longer endurance, another patrician faction deposed him in favour of Sylvester III. Benedict escaped from Rome, but soon returned with sufficient force to drive away his rival. Some time afterwards fortune again favoured the latter, and the contest was carried on with varying success for several years, until Benedict finally got the upper hand, but at last, convinced his crimes had made his victory untenable, he consented to sell his tiara to Hadrian, or rather Gregory VI.

Sylvester consented to retire to his episcopal see of Sabina, Gregory was compelled to accompany the emperor to Germany. The career of Hildebrand seemed now, probably, closed for ever, but in this very deposition of Gregory lay the elements of his own future greatness. He voluntarily accompanied his patron into exile, and as the deposed pope generally resided at the imperial court, or followed the emperor on his numerous journeys, Hildebrand had good opportunity of studying the Germans, their institutions, and especially Kaiser Henry III. and his son, afterwards Henry IV. The latter he made the subject of close observation, and was soon convinced that though the lad was not wanting in intelligence, his character was both weak and thoughtless, arrogant in prosperity, yet easily depressed by misfortune, and never capable of firmness or resolution.

The German nation, comparing it, as he did, with his own, which then monopolised what little art and science was still to be found in the west, appeared to him miserably rude and barbarous ; the people exhibited a certain amount of rough honour and truthfulness, but this made them but the more contemptible in the eyes of the astute priest educated to the use of the poison and the stiletto, whilst he beheld in these uncouth Tedeschi the conquerors and oppressors of his native land, and felt the hate which inspired his whole life grow but the more intense by the scorn with which it was united.

It then seemed little likely he would ever be in a position to influence the fate of Germany or Italy ; for Gregory died, after some years passed in exile, and his protégé immediately withdrew from the world, to de-

vote himself to study and contemplation in the abbey of Clugny. After popes Clement II. (1046-47) and Damasus II., both Germans nominated by the emperor, had passed away (Damasus, indeed, reigned but twenty-three days, for, like Clement II., he was poisoned by Benedict, who had left his place of concealment to regain, if possible, the throne of St. Peter), the emperor, for the third time, appointed a German pope,—his cousin, Conrad des Salices, a son of Count Egersheim, of Alsace. Conrad assumed the name of Leo IX. On his way to Rome he visited the monastery of Clugny ; and feeling much more fitted to wield a sword than a bishop's crosier, and totally ignorant of the state of affairs at Rome, he was not a little rejoiced to find a young monk in this very monastery, not only intimately acquainted with the public and private life of the city, but thoroughly informed on every particular of the papal system. Hildebrand was at once appointed to the same offices about the new pontiff that he had filled under Gregory VI. ; and thus the son of the blacksmith for the second time returned to Rome, was successively made subdeacon, archdeacon, then legate, and finally cardinal,—his power mounting in like ratio—whilst as prime minister under Leo and his immediate successors he engrossed the chief power of the papacy in his own hands. Thus, he continued to govern during the pontificates of six popes, until he at length felt the right moment had approached, when he should be pope in his own right. It is singular, how rapidly the vicegerents of heaven vanished from the stage during his ministry. Cardinal Damiani, his contemporary, suggests they were each furnished with a “soothing draught,”

—an effectual quietus, directly any tendency at self-assertion against the vizier was manifested. Be this as it may, it is at least certain that Hildebrand ruled under Leo IX. (1048-55), under Victor II. (1055-57), Stephen X. (1058-61), Benedict X. (1058), Nicholas II. (1058-61), and Alexander II. (1061-73), and that every event of importance that happened in their pontificates must be regarded as originating with him. Before entering on a relation of these events, we must consider—"What was the object Hildebrand had in view, and by what means he sought its realisation," or we shall have no adequate conception of the most brilliant epoch of the papacy.

The answer may, perhaps, be most fittingly given in the words inscribed by his own hand :—" *Ut papæ nomen unius sit in orbe Christiano.*" Hildebrand dreamed of a universal monarchy—a pope, autocrat alike over spiritual and worldly thrones and dominions. The State should bow to the altar, the whole world become his vassal feoff, and he the representative of God himself. Nicholas I. had laboured for this end, but not with the same definite consistency as his greater successor. Hildebrand, or rather Gregory VII., found the work before him ably prepared. The Isidorian decretal, so triumphantly introduced by Nicholas, was now reverently accepted in almost every country throughout the whole West; it was regarded as the exponent of laws to which the most unquestioning obedience was due. The dogma of the anathema and interdict, though sometimes contested, was still a spell mighty enough to make kings kiss the rod. The belief was universal throughout Christendom, that a

country under the church ban was as completely given over to the powers of hell as any single culprit under excommunication, and necessarily remained so until absolved by the pope: this belief it was which secured the subjection of the world to the see of Rome.*

* Such weapons, however terrible, might still have proved inadequate to the realisation of Hildebrand's designs, had he not succeeded in binding down the whole body of the catholic priesthood in irrevocable slavery to the papal throne, and thus secured complete sway over the conscience of every man and woman throughout Western Christendom; and he accomplished this through the establishment of celibacy.

Celibacy is now understood to mean the unmarried state of the priesthood. It originally bore a very different signification,—from *cælum* (heaven) the word was derived, and implied the devotion of a man's life to heaven. The Egyptians and Indians of old had considered a solitary, chaste, contemplative existence, as a high grade of virtue; and Christianity adopted the opinion the more readily, since Christ himself, and the greater number of his apostles, had never married. The political position of the Christians in the earlier centuries, when constantly exposed to persecution, was little of a character to induce marrying or giving in marriage. Many were even driven, by necessity, to solitary places, where they could alone devote themselves, undisturbed, to the pious exercises of their faith. Thus the first so-called *cœlibes* originated, and, as "self-castrated," were greatly honoured by their fellow-believers. To acquire the same degree of reverence, a great many bishops and presbyters definitely renounced marriage; and thus the belief became gradually generalised among the faithful, that unwedded priests were far holier than wedded ones: to have no wife, was to be chaste. It came to pass, after a century or two, that priests' wives were looked upon as clerical concubines, and the priest possessing one was called, in contempt, a "concubinarius." Of course, the ascetic disciplinarians reflected not, that this was in direct defiance of the church dogma, which pronounces marriage to be one of the sacraments. Many of the "fathers" and episcopal dignitaries, especially in the West (in the East the priesthood refused all countenance to this perversion of celibacy) took up the question of the non-marriage of the priests with great energy, holding, they would become, by adoption of the new doctrine, so much the more pure of life, and emancipated from attachment to the things of this world. The object proposed in establishing

It was a heavy task this that Gregory assumed, and so much the heavier, since in many countries a great majority of the clergy were married; and moreover, in every collection of church canons a certain statute, passed by the synod of Sangra in the fourth century, was included, by which any person declaring a married priest improper to fulfil his sacred functions, was threatened with excommunication. Undeterred by such obstacles, Hildebrand continued to work out his plans of universal monarchy. Leo IX. and Stephen IX. were made to issue stringent edicts against priests' marriages, so that the crowning act might be properly prepared for. Scarcely had Gregory secured his seat on the throne (1074), than he convened a synod at Rome, where, by his command, it was decreed that:—I. No married priest should perform any spiritual office. II. That all persons of the laity present at such a celebration should be subject to penalties. III. Married priests

an unmarried priesthood, up to this time, had been merely a moral and religious one. No law, no canon to effect it, had ever existed; or, perhaps, had ever been contemplated, even in theory, until the great Hildebrand took the matter into consideration, and at once felt its capability for a very different application to any yet foreseen. He felt that, so long as priests had wives and children they would be more or less subservient to the government under which they lived, and dependent on the temporal ruler from whom they received their office, and by whose good-will they retained it; and he boldly declared, "the Church could never be released from slavery to the laity until the Priesthood were set free from women." ("Non liberari potest ecclesia a servitute laicorum, nisi liberentur prius clerici ab uxoribus.") Such were the words of the pope; and they adequately prove it was not on merely moral grounds he founded his scheme, but in the purpose of rendering the church entirely independent of the state, so that the whole army of priests throughout the world might have no interests to compete with those of their profession, that is, the interests of the church, Roman and pontifical.

(whom he designated as *concubinarii*) should put away their wives. And, IV. That no priest in future should receive ordination unless with the solemn promise to remain unwed.

Assuredly no decree could be more offensive to the instincts of humanity: but Gregory was not the less capable of insuring its triumph. At first it excited a very menacing amount of resistance, in many places, ending, indeed, in bloodshed; for though the unmarried priests, of whom there were a great many, very generally adopted the papal views, the married ones at once addressed letters of protest to all the bishops of England, France, Germany, Spain, &c., denouncing the pope as a heretic, "for endeavouring to enforce a dogma totally at variance with all the previous canons of the church and the teaching of the New Testament." That was the state of feeling throughout great part of Europe; and if the priests were indignant, we may well imagine their wives were more so, and not a little aided in inflaming the honest indignation of their husbands at so barbarous an ukase. Even the bishops and archbishops were seriously divided in opinion on its expediency. Bishop Otho of Constance never published the decree at all in his diocese, but gave his clergy the most full and complete permission to marry: the bishop of Magdeberg, "on moral grounds" (his grace thought priests were no angels, and might be like rather to renounce their cassocks than their wives,) set himself in positive opposition to it; and the synod of Paris, in 1704, denounced the proceedings of the pope as heretical. Many prelates, indeed, a large majority of the

body, proved much more tractable, and not only gave full publicity to the decree, but used all their authority to enforce its fulfilment. With but few exceptions they were unmarried men, for Hildebrand had taken good heed since the pontificate of Leo IX. that no other obtained episcopal ordination; they, therefore, had nothing to lose by celibacy. Yet a great many, notwithstanding their best endeavours, were quite unable to carry out at once the will of their master, in many instances their clergy breaking out into open revolt at the attempt. When Siegfried, archbishop of Mayence, and a devoted partisan of Gregory, summoned his clergy to inform them "within six months they must, without exception, either give up their wives or their priestly office," they expressed their opinion of the measure in such threatening sort that, for very terror of his life, Siegfried swore by all the saints he would renounce every thought of carrying it out. The same results ensued in the bishopric of Passau, and in that of Cambray, the insulted women rose in actual rebellion, and carried their indignation so far that an over-zealous monk who had dared defend the new doctrines of celibacy, was summarily burnt to death by them on an improvised bonfire.

Gregory heeded little these occasional excesses, for there were three classes of men on whom he could rely, and by whose aid he felt sure of victory sooner or later. The first of these was constituted as we have already indicated by the bishops; the second by the monks; the third formed the mass of the lower classes. The better to gain over the latter, legates and friars were sent into every country to preach that neither the

mass nor the sacraments could have their full efficacy if administered by a wedded priest, and to incite the people against those of their pastors who refused to put away their helpmates. The mob soon took the matter in hand, and rushing down with fanatical madness on the dwellings of the offenders, drove their wives and children out of doors, made treasure trove of whatever they could lay their hands on, and did not hesitate at murder itself in carrying out the fiat of His Holiness. The most heartrending scenes that can well be imagined were of constant recurrence; thousands of abandoned, or rather forcibly divorced, wives, thousands of poor children branded with bastardy wandered about without shelter wherever the will of Rome commanded obedience, whilst as many priests lost their lives in defending those nearest and dearest to them. All this mattered nothing to the great Hildebrand; he had conquered, celibacy was established, and the clergy, emancipated alike from state and family duties and interests, fell at once and completely into the hands of His Holiness.*

* It must not, however, be supposed that the struggles of the priesthood against celibacy were overcome at one stroke, they lasted during full two hundred years; down to the thirteenth century there were still married priests in northern Europe, in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, &c., and in Iceland the new dogma was never carried out into practice; but still these formed but a succession of single-handed combats, as it were, of no ultimate importance in the contest. A far more interesting subject for historical investigation would be offered by the study of the moral consequences of this compulsory celibacy, and though we will not here enter into any of the scandalous details connected with the system, we may yet assert, that the subsequent complete demoralisation of the Catholic priesthood resulted more than from any other cause from this

To make the church completely independent of the state (and only by its complete independence could the authority of Rome over the priesthood be firmly se-

favourite scheme of Pope Gregory: they thenceforth could not marry, but found effectual consolation in the new species of "housekeepers" who soon arose to supply all the clerical requirements, so that Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, declared, "In the western churches there is a vast multitude of children, but one knows not who the fathers are." Bishop Pelagius da Silva, who lived in 1320, says, in Spain and Portugal the children of the laity scarcely exceeded in number those of the priests." It was frequently proposed to lay a tax upon clerical concubinage, and housekeepers under forty years of age were strictly forbidden; priests found compensation for this harshness in the matrons and maidens of their flocks, or shared the manse with some fair cousin, or even nearer relative. Scandals of this latter character increased so rapidly, that many priests were tried and punished for incest. The evil became so flagrant that John XXII., at the beginning of the fourteenth century, legalised priests' mistresses, of course in consideration of a special tax; but the trouble and scandal only grew the greater, for those priests who did not avail themselves of the privilege granted, were assessed as heavily as their weaker brethren, and were not a little incensed at so monstrous an injustice. The most serious evil of the whole scheme was the contempt into which the vices it developed gradually brought the priesthood. We need but refer, as an illustration of this, to the contemps which befel the cardinal legate sent to France by Pope Honorius, in 1125, to take measures against the licentiousness of the clergy. The legate fulfilled his mission with apostolic zeal, and to the edification of all good Christians; then a banquet was given in his honour at Lyons, and when his eminence left the festive board, the other guests, more merry than discreet, resolved to bid him good-night once more, crept quietly up to his chamber, opened the door with unseemly haste, and beheld the holy man in bed—but with other companionship than his own pious thoughts—"nudatus usque ad unguem," very needlessly adds the chronicler, who proceeds to say the company sent down for some wine, and merrily drank a "pleasant night's rest" to Cardinal John and that fayre ladye whose head shared his pillow. Such stories were soon bruited abroad among the people, and pasquinades and satirical songs on the priesthood and its self-denial were circulated from mouth to mouth. In every house might be heard such kind of poetical appreciation of clerical chastity as

cured), there still remained another step to be taken, royal and national influences in clerical nominations had to be supplanted. In effecting this, Gregory's boldness and tact has scarcely been equalled in political history; firstly, in the matter of papal elections by the establishment of the College of Cardinals, and again in the Statute of Investiture with regard to all bishops and archbishops. Both these measures, however, involved the papacy in such fierce disputes with the temporal powers that we must take a hasty glance back at political history to properly understand their full bearing.

The manner in which the popes had usually been appointed we have already seen, and Emperor Henry III. had taken the elections completely into his own hands when he placed Clement II. on the papal chair deposing the three rival Italians who dishonoured it, and nominated the six succeeding popes, all of whom were Germans. Such a state of things was necessarily highly

“Jesuiten sind stets ihrer zwei
Sind aber ihrer drei
So ist ein Weibstuck dabei.”

Roughly translated—

“Jesuits abrace go commonly,
If so hap that there are three,
I trow the third will be a she.”

The writings of Boccaccio, and many others of the same stamp, were read with inconceivable avidity, though they lashed the vices of the priests without compunction, and not much more delicacy. The Reformation was in great part brought on by “Celibacy;” and in Catholic countries public opinion has not much more respect now than of old for clerical housekeepers. Witness the popular song:—

“Mädle wenn du diene muss,
Diene nur bei Pfaffen
Hannst den Lohn * * *
Brauchts nicht viel zu schaffen.”

distasteful to Hildebrand, in the first place, because Germans were elected,—in the second, because the emperor, *i. e.*, “the temporal power” elected them, and from the influence of the latter he had resolved to emancipate the church. Hildebrand set himself this task from the commencement of his career, but he was far too wise to let his purpose be perceived, and knowing well the stout kaiser would never willingly suffer any infringement of his prerogatives, resolved to advance by very cautious and slow degrees towards the object he had so much at heart. He, as a preliminary step, induced Leo IX., who trusted his subtle subdeacon more than was perfectly wise, to allow himself to be re-elected on arriving at Rome by the people, nobility, and clergy of the city, assuring His Holiness it was but a mere form, but would completely secure his popularity there. He, in like manner, persuaded the next pope, Victor II., who, like Leo, was appointed by the emperor to go through the same ceremony. The worthy Suabian (Victor was a son of Count Hartwig of Calw) little dreamed that Hildebrand had assured the Romans the nomination of the pope by the emperor was only to be regarded as a “suggestion,” the subsequent ratification by the people and clergy of Rome alone legalising the election. He pursued the same course with the next pontiff, Stephen X., and not until the death of the third of kaiser Henry’s nominees, in 1058, did he venture to bring his whole plan to light. Henry III. had died in the meantime. and his crown had passed to his son Henry IV., who was still a minor, under the regency of Agnes, the empress mother. The cardinal legate

(Hildebrand now held that office at the imperial court) felt the moment for decisive action had arrived; he assumed the appearance of the most complete devotion to the interests of the empress, applied himself, apparently, to the maintenance of the imperial prerogatives, in opposition to the election of a certain Benedict X., who, by heavy bribes, secured the suffrages of many of the Romans. A serious schism then broke out in Rome; the higher clergy, who had promised Hildebrand to appoint no one without his consent, refused to recognise Benedict X., and the Cardinal Legate finally persuaded Agnes to name as pope a certain bishop Gerardus of Florence, a Burgundian by birth, but completely devoted to Hildebrand's interests. The empress consented, and Gerardus, accompanied by Hildebrand as his faithful adviser, proceeded to Rome, and mounted the apostolic throne as Nicholas II., Benedict X. resigning his purchase without opposition. A synod was immediately summoned, under the presidency of Cardinal Hildebrand, to consider how future papal election might best be conducted without prejudice from party influence; and it was finally resolved. "The right of electing the pope shall from henceforth remain in the keeping of the higher clergy of Rome, namely, cardinal bishops, cardinal presbyters (or priests), and cardinal deacons." It was also resolved the pope so appointed should be immediately presented to the assembled people, patricians and priesthood of Rome, and the intelligence of the choice arrived at immediately forwarded to the emperor, not in order to its ratification by him, but to engage his protection for the new pope.

In these resolves lay a complete revolution of all the earlier procedure. The influence of the citizens on the papal elections, if this scheme was carried out, would be effectually eliminated, and the imperial right of presentation changed for an apparent suzerainty, though really into an engagement of protection, ["*Advocatia*" was the term employed] to the apostolic throne. The announcement that the election of the pope lay for the future with the "College of Cardinals," was, in so many words, a declaration; it was wholly independent of all Temporal patronage, and consequently of the German kaisers; the question remained, was Hildebrand able to carry out this bold design? But the reader may ask, who, then, are these cardinals who constitute the "college?" and we should answer the question before proceeding further with our story. *Cardo* signifies an axis, hinge, or chief turning point; therefore, *cardinalis* would indicate something of supreme worth, or import; we need but recall its application to the highest moral qualities, thence known as cardinal virtues, and thus it was very customary in the Roman empire, under the Cæsars, to entitle the chief imperial dignitaries and officials "*cardinalis*." The appellation took the liking of the Christian bishops, and, on becoming rich and powerful, they also assumed the right to be called "*Cardinales*." In fact, the name was very frequently accorded them, as the bishop of Ravenna and several of the French clergy in the tenth century were so distinguished; but still more persistently was the distinction sought by the chief ecclesiastics at the court of the patriarchs, or popes, at Rome, and by the prelates whose

sees laid in its immediate vicinity, as those of Ostia, Porto, Sabina, Palestrina, Frascati, Albano, &c., &c., and by the higher clergy whose benefices were within the city. No one ever thought of contesting the title any more than that of "Papa" assumed by the Roman patriarch. There were, therefore, cardinal bishops, cardinal presbyters, cardinal legates, ready to Hildebrand's hand, and this new institution he introduced was but their incorporation into a "College" (collegium), having the prerogative of nominating the pope. Our readers, doubtless, know well the meaning of a cathedral chapter, "Domus Collegium." It implies nothing more than the chapter college, or brotherhood of the deans resident in the house (domus) of the bishop, thus becoming his advisers and assistants, his consistorial counsellors — so to say. In like manner the College of Cardinals formed the papal consistorial court, and resembled, as nearly as might be, the Holy Sanhedrim of the Jews.*

* The number of the cardinals originally varied between seven and fifty-three, until Sixtus V., in 1556, finally fixed it at seventy, the number of Christ's disciples; of these there were seven bishops, forty presbyters, twenty deacons. By the edict passed in the Lateran Council, in 1179, two-thirds of the votes recorded were necessary to constitute a valid election; but this regulation was perfectly disregarded. Little by little the privileges of the cardinals increased. Innocent IV. (1243-54) gave them a scarlet hat and precedence over all other bishops; Boniface VIII. (1294-1303) the scarlet cloak; Paul II. (1464-71) the white canopy lined with red, and ornamented with gold cords; Urban VIII. (1631) the title of "Eminence." They took precedence of electors, royal princes, and dukes, and immediately followed royalty. They were authorised to kiss queens and princesses, in ceremonial greeting, on the lips; and if one of the seventy passed a malefactor in the streets, the penalty the latter should have suffered was at once rescinded. No cardinal

It must of course be understood, the "Collegium," founded by Hildebrand, was not originally what it subsequently became, though the latter developments were but in completion of his plan. The Sanhedrim had been the prototype in his mind, and the later additions were comparatively of little moment. The question immediately to be considered was, what the world, still more, what the emperor of Germany would say, to this change. For the moment there was nothing to be feared, or as long as the devout Agnes held the sceptre,—but afterwards?

Hildebrand would have to oppose force with force, and foreseeing the coming difficulties, sought alliances with the neighbouring powers. With the duke of Florence, father of the famous Mathilda of whom we have already spoken, he easily attained his end; with Robert Guiscard, of Normandy, he had more trouble: the latter but a few years previously had descended on Italy, making himself master of the south of the peninsula, with Calabria and Apulia, and had nearly turned his arms against the very patrimonium of St. Peter. Fortunately, the "true faith" was strong in the hearts of duke Robert and his Normans; and when Nicholas II., at

bishop could be held guilty of any offence unless seventy-two witnesses could be produced to prove it; against a cardinal deacon only twenty-seven were demanded. The smallest revenue received by any of the number could not have been under 4,000 scudi; the majority enjoyed five or six times this amount, though, generally speaking, they had paid dearly enough for their honours. The fees on receiving the ring worn on the fourth finger reached 500 ducats; the scarlet hat, in many of the pontificates, could not be obtained for less than 40,000 scudi; and frequently, when the treasury fell short at Rome, no better financial expedient could be found than to make a batch of cardinals.

the instigation of Hildebrand, threatened excommunication, he at once proved submissive. Then Cardinal Hildebrand suggested the conquest of Sicily, which was then contested by Greeks and Saracens, to the famous old king, as a much more profitable undertaking, and promised him the papal sanction to his acquisitions in south Italy if he consented to receive them as a fief of Rome. The proposition of the pope included recognition of Robert as a legitimate prince, and the latter did not long hesitate, gratefully declaring himself ready to conclude the compact, and promised a yearly tribute of twelve denarii for every pair of oxen in his new dominions. The Holy Father appointed him Gonfaloniere of the holy church, and formally sanctioned his pretensions to Calabria, Apulia, and the still unconquered island of Sicily.* Thus were two allies secured; and Hildebrand could more calmly wait the gathering storm. In the meantime Nicholas II. died, and the college of cardinals, for the first time, proceeded to put its newly-contrived rights in force, electing Alexander II., a Milanese, and the mere tool of the great cardinal,† without in any way applying for the consent of the empress, Agnes. This was too great a trial even for so pious a lady's endurance. She convened a synod at Bâle, and the election

* The papacy has ever since claimed suzerainty over Sicily, and the right to dispose of its crown.

† Hildebrand used contemptuously to call his new pope "Asinarello" (my little donkey); and even applied his palm to the apostolic ears in very irreverent wise, according to the testimony of Cardinal Benno. Hildebrand, under such circumstances, was naturally pretty well master of the papal revenues, and could easily smooth the way for his own future election.

of Alexander II. declared null and void by it, setting up the bishop of Parma under the name of Honorius II. as a rival pope. A small body of troops was despatched by her orders to secure his triumphal entrance into Rome; but the imperialist soldiers were soon routed by those sent against them by Hildebrand; and Honorius II. was glad to renounce all designs on St. Peter's throne and get back to his episcopal see at Parma: this occurred in 1061. But Hildebrand justly supposed the empress mother would not be inclined to sit down quietly under the defeat, and so resolved to find other occupation for her Germans; and forthwith carried out a plan more creditable to his ingenuity than to his honour, persuading Hanno, archbishop of Cologne, a devoted servant of Rome, to seize the person of the young emperor and deprive the empress of the authority she wielded in his name.

Hanno at once fell in with the plot, attached himself to a party of the nobles already disaffected, enticed young Henry into a vessel on the Rhine one day, and quietly sailed off with him to Cologne. The bishop secured the reins of government in possessing himself of the person of the sovereign; and though many of the great lords remained faithful to Agnes and fiercely contested this usurpation, so that the empire for years was torn by civil strife, and all Germany likely to dissolve into chaos, the archbishop weathered the tempest, and educated his pupil in such true priestly fashion, that all the better and generous promise of the boy's youth was effectually obliterated. Such were the consequences of Hildebrand's council to his grace of Cologne. But the head of the

church heeded such things but little: the greater the demoralisation of Germany the greater the advantage of Rome, for it brought the opportunity of papal independence; and indeed this was actually attained when Hanno, as regent, recognised Alexander II., the nominee of Hildebrand, as duly elected "Papa Universalis;" when the latter, at a synod held at Mantua, had deposed Honorius. This was Hildebrand's first victory over the temporal power; and, sufficiently satisfied of the utterly distracted state of the empire of Germany, he felt that now the right moment had arrived to put his own hand to the helm. It was therefore necessary Alexander should withdraw from the scene. He died, in fact, with singular appositeness, in February, 1073, and the tiara was once more in the gift of the Sacred College. Hildebrand knew full well his brother cardinals regarded him as a two-edged sword, and were probably quite capable, if the matter were left completely in their hands, of choosing some one of more tranquil character; he therefore employed his agents to such good effect in bribing the people of Rome, that when the remains of Alexander were carried with all befitting pomp and reverence to sepulture, the crowd cried as with one voice, "Hildebrand is pope, we will have no one but Hildebrand." All the citizens were gathered in the streets; and presently some of the well-taught enthusiasts, seizing the mighty cardinal with respectful violence, bore him aloft on their shoulders to St. Peter's and the chair of the apostle, crying, "The blessed St. Peter hath appointed him;" and then proceed to sing "Te deum laudamus," in which the whole assembly joined. Thus Hildebrand

was made pope without any interposition of the college he had appointed, or any authority, beyond the mob and his own broad pieces.

In the meantime Henry IV. had long attained his majority, and so succeeded to the supreme crown of Germany. Hildebrand had some time since solemnly promised him, during a mission to Germany, he would neither accept the papal crown nor support the candidature of any other person, without the royal consent previously bestowed. As there was some cause to apprehend Henry might march down on Rome to revenge the perjury, Hildebrand dispatched courier after courier, in hot haste, with the most humble missives, entreating pardon for the forcible nature of his election, and begging its ratification from the king and future emperor. The wiser of the young monarch's councilors,* and there were even some bishops among the number, warned him in the most urgent manner against this wolf in sheep's clothing. Others, again, warmly espoused the cause of Hildebrand; whilst his own letters, conceived with the most touching humility, had no little effect on the mind of a youth as vain as he was impressible. In short, the final result was, that the new papal election was fully recognised, and Gregory VII. placed the triple crown formally upon his brow; yet scarcely had the first act of the ecclesiastical comedy

* Hildebrand declared, among other things, "he had merely accepted the election in a provisional sense, without prejudice to the respect and reverence due to our beloved son, the future emperor—(*Salvo debito honore et reverentia dilecti filii nostri Henrici imperatoris futuri*),"—and entreated his majesty to give the preference to some other, did he know any more worthy or more faithful.

closed, when Henry learned what manner of gratitude his complacence had won for him.

The first achievement of Gregory's pontificate was the establishment of the dogma of celibacy, the introduction of which had already been made good; the second was the systematised subjection of the temporal sovereigns, all of whom he contemplated bringing into vassalage to Rome, as he had already done with Robert, duke of the Normans. He sent letters to all the crowned heads of Europe, the king of Germany alone excepted, demanding boldly they should recognise his suzerainty alone, pay tribute to Rome in acknowledgment of their own vassalage, or on their refusal he must have recourse to other measures. Briefs to this effect were sent to Arragon, Castille, Leon, Navarre, France, England, Denmark, Norway, Poland, Hungary, Dalmatia, &c., &c.; in each case founding his claims on "long established precedent," though no such precedent ever had existed.

From several he received a positive refusal; among these were France, Leon, Castille, and Navarre; others, including England, Norway, Denmark, and Arragon, compromised, by consenting to an annual present—the Peter's pence, of which we have already spoken at some length, though they totally refused any recognition of vassalage, or tribute that should represent it. Gregory contented himself as best he might, for he did not care to risk anything against opponents whom he felt were as determined as himself. The case was very different with Poland, Hungary, and Dalmatia; the last was governed by a duke, very eager to exchange his title for

a royal one ; what course was then plainer for him than that, in imitation of Stephen of Hungary, he should apply to Rome for the coveted dignity ; and Gregory would only consent on promise of his oath of vassalage.

A King Solomon ruled in Hungary, who, to acquire a powerful alliance against his cousin and rival, Geysa, had consented to hold his crown in feoff from the German emperor ; but Gregory, who maintained that Hungary, through the coronation of King Stephen in 999, was a feoff of the Holy See, adopted the cause of the pretender Geysa, who, of course, had previously agreed to acknowledge the suzerainty of the pope. Gregory fulminated ban and anathema, and expended his treasure so liberally in the contest, that Solomon was effectually overcome. The same fate awaited King Boseslaf of Poland, or Cracow rather, for he had divided the kingdom with his two brothers, and only possessed the latter province ; Boseslaf refusing to pay the Peter's pence imposed by Rome, and, moreover, having the misfortune to kill the Bishop Stanislas of Cracow in a brawl, Gregory excommunicated him, laid his land under interdict, and rested not until the sovereign had become a discrowned fugitive. So acted Hildebrand towards the pettier princes with whom he could measure his power without too much danger ; but he soon ventured to challenge the mightiest potentate in Europe, the emperor king of Germany, in the proud hope that were he but once subdued, the sovereignty of the world must lapse into the hands of him who ruled in Rome.

Hildebrand, in pursuance of his designs for universal monarchy, had resolved, as we have already seen, to

raise the church completely above state interference; above all things making the priesthood independent of the temporal power. With the lower clergy he gained this end through the institution of celibacy, which cut them off from all family and social sympathies; with the bishops of Rome by the establishment of the Sacred College (securing the papal elections without participation of the emperor); and finally, with the higher dignitaries generally, by the statutes of investiture, which accomplished their complete liberation from the national and princely influences they had previously been compelled to acknowledge.

The various episcopal sees throughout Europe had so much increased in size, and wealth, and population, that they might justly be regarded as actual principalities. These were subject, like all papal territories in the middle ages, to the action of the feudal laws; their holders were bound to furnish the state with a certain number of men at arms during war, &c., &c.; and no bishop or archbishop could take possession of the lands annexed to his see, without having been formally enfeoffed in them by the head of the state. Episcopal ordination was, of course, a ceremony of purely ecclesiastical character; but ordination did not enfeoff the receiver with the landed endowments of his diocese, which could alone be given by the lord suzerain—in Germany this was the emperor. Enfeoffment in the case of church dignitaries was entitled investiture.

For many centuries, indeed, this investiture of all abbots, bishops, and archbishops, had been performed by their respective sovereigns, and no word of protest raised

against the custom. Kings, priests, and popes, alike agreed on the matter, and the candidate to a bishopric never received his episcopal ordination before the king had bestowed the ring and crosier of investiture. Symbolical ceremonies were usual at all enfeoffments; the ring signified a marriage with the church, and the crosier the spiritual charge of her shepherd. It was but the simplest necessity that those who enjoyed the land should accept the duties appertaining to it. We must acknowledge the temporal power thus gained immense influence in episcopal nominations, and that bishops holding their lands during the goodwill of the monarch, often exhibited much more zeal in his interests than for those of the church, or, we should rather say, of the pope. All this would be changed if Gregory succeeded, and the bishops in future have no other but those of the Romish see.

Gregory's task might have been accomplished with no great difficulty, had its purpose been merely a religious one; he would simply have given back the royal and imperial fiefs of the church to their respective quarters—but, heaven save the mark! he found it far more profitable to wrest the ancient rights of investiture from the hands of those who had rightfully possessed it; choosing to ignore the fourth commandment rather than sacrifice any tittle of church revenue, or church property.

The decree in reference to this matter was promulgated in 1075; its chief points were, "that every layman, without any exception, should be thenceforth prohibited, under penalty of excommunication, from bestowing in-

vestiture on any priest; whilst priests were forbidden, under 'pain of deprivation,' to accept any investiture of an archbishoprick, bishoprick, or abbey, from the hand of a layman." Bishops were to be elected by cathedral chapters, archbishops by the bishops, though the ratification of the choice so made remained absolutely with the pope; and this ratification included full authorisation to the possession of all lands appertaining to the abbey, or episcopal or archiepiscopal see concerned. By this act, abbots, bishops, and archbishops, at once ceased to be vassals and subjects of their natural sovereign, to become vassals and subjects of the pope, and the lands of the state were made into feoffs of bishop of Rome.

Such was the main purport of this edict of confiscation, published by Gregory's legates throughout England, France, Germany, and Spain, accompanied by emphatic adjurations to obey its commands with undeviating exactitude. The expropriation was justified by the simple declaration, the measure was needed for the service of the church, His Holiness finding it the only one capable of suppressing the scandal and simony so prevalent. The pope, therefore, assumed the right to act against all right, in order to make iniquity profitable.

It must here be conceded that the abuses against which Gregory declaimed were very flagrant, especially so in Germany, where Kaiser Henry III., for example, had made a practice of replenishing his coffers, when very low, by episcopal appointments, which, if not actually sold, were repaid by curiously liberal presents

from the receiver. Moreover, he was in the habit of bestowing a rich diocese, by way of sinecure, with little reference to the spiritual qualifications of the favourite so honoured.

Things were still worse under his son, Henry IV., who, having been declared of age at fourteen, led a wild enough life with his friend and favourite, Count Werner. When either of the two had no more money to dice away, they staked some ecclesiastical benefice, or paid their debts by pawning one. Great abuses enough there were, and it was the evident duty of the pope to remove them; but he resolved to do so, not by appealing to law and good morality, which regarded simony as deeply flagitious; not so, indeed; he had a far more advantageous panacea; he would deprive the temporal powers of their simoniacal trafficking, but transfer it to the head of the church, as a robber might, on moral grounds, seize the strong box of a miser, to put an end to his usury. At the same time that Gregory mulcted the kings of their claims to episcopal investiture, he established the regulations respecting the archiepiscopal pallium, of which we have already spoken. He, the pope, had resolved to reign sole autocrat in church and state, and no man should prevail against him.

In every kingdom into which Gregory dispatched his manifestoes, no notice whatever was accorded them; the sovereigns continued to "invest" their abbots, bishops, and archbishops, as before; and, doubtless, King Henry IV. of Germany would have done the same, but the reckless licentiousness of his early life, and his unjustifiable conduct towards Bavaria and Saxony, had bitterly

incensed many of the princes of the empire, especially the archbishops among them, against him, and they only waited some plausible excuse to accomplish his overthrow. It was on this that Gregory founded his hopes, when he challenged the German monarch to this game of investiture; his calculations were well made, as we shall presently see.

He at once opened the contest by pronouncing the deposition of four German prelates, for having bought their sees, and excommunicated five imperial counsellors for being concerned in the sale. It was now to be seen whether Henry IV. would accept the gage of battle thrown down; and secondly, whether doing so, the people were ready to stand by him. Henry raised the gauntlet, and took the deposed and excommunicated simonists under his protection, not a little enraged at the arrogant assumptions of Gregory; but the Germans, his vassals, were unhappily anything but united. Many of the very numerous malcontents among the princes, were delighted at such an opportunity to indulge their jealous rancour against the kaiser, and furnished the pope with various fresh charges to be brought against their ill-starred suzerain, and encouraged him to proceed with his great task. Gregory saw at once the game was already in his own hands, and throwing the mask aside, no longer merely demanded the relinquishment of the investiture with ring and crosier, in his favour, but cited the German king to appear at Rome in the beginning of the year 1076, answer before a synod for his evil life, and meet the various special charges to be then heard against him. The pope thus summoned

his own feudal lord as a culprit before the papal judgment seat, constituting himself an authority over the head of the great German empire.

Such unexampled pretensions so exasperated King Henry, he drove away the legates who had brought the message with the greatest contumely, issued a manifesto stating the whole question at issue, and called on the bishops and archbishops of his empire to meet in synod at Worms, on the 24th July, 1076,* “and take into consideration the fitting means by which the church might be delivered from the tyranny of a man, who would fain constitute himself sole arbiter of the whole world.” The synod was very numerously attended, and Archbishop Engelbert of Trêves, Bishop Theodoric of Verdun, and Cardinal Benno (a personal foe of Gregory), painted such a revolting picture of the policy and acts of the pope, that the latter was unanimously deposed as a “simonist, adulterer, murderer, atheist, and sorcerer,” in fact, every imaginable crime was laid to his charge. This was assuredly the best reply to the papal demands: but Gregory had his weapons ready, and immediately fulminated the anathema against Henry, absolved his subjects, in the name of St. Paul, from their oath of allegiance, and declared the crown of Germany vacant;† the excommunication of a sovereign also involving his deposition.

Thus was deposition against deposition, declaration of

* Three years later, 1079, the papal authority was definitely established in England.

† It was Pope Celestine III. who kicked the crown from the Emperor Henry VI's head, to illustrate his power to make and unmake kings.—*Translator.*

war against declaration of war ; on one side the rallying cry was :—" Sacerdocium," or the Holy Church ; on the other, Imperium—the Divine right of kings. There could be little doubt who would remain master of the field, if but the deadly terror of the ban could be overcome. But the pope's light infantry—the monks, black, white, and brown—spread themselves over the land, and whispered in every ear, that whoso gave aid to, or held communion with an excommunicate, must prepare for everlasting damnation ; papal legates preached in every city, that he who supported the cause of the emperor, must share his perdition here and hereafter, and at once suffer confiscation of all worldly possessions. The popular terror and excitement increased with every day ; so completely were men's minds paralysed by the blow, that no one bethought himself if the pope were justified in thus pronouncing the most terrible of ecclesiastical sentences, when the point at issue concerned temporal interests merely. Henry's own mother, the pious Agnes, who had retired to a convent, was so much troubled in conscience, that she declared against her son, as indeed did his aunt, the Duchess Beatrix. At length the emperor's adherents all melted away, until he could count on none but the bishop of Utrecht, and Count Gottfried, of Lothringen, who both well knew by that time what they had to fear from the ban. The chiefs of the malcontents, Duke Welf of Bavaria, Duke Berthold of Carinthia, and Rudolph of Suabia (Henry's brother in law), seized the opportunity afforded by the general excitement, to summon a meeting of the electors at Tribur, in October,

1076, and Henry was there declared formally deposed, unless, within a year and a day, he succeeded in freeing himself from the excommunication.

Such were the consequences of the papal anathema. The unfortunate sovereign was abandoned by all, and at length his own spirit was so effectually broken, that the kaiser felt there was no other course left than to proceed to Italy, and entreat the pope's forgiveness. In mid winter, accompanied by a few faithful retainers, he crossed the Alps, regardless of the danger that awaited him from the excessive cold, and frequent avalanches, and descended in the beginning of January Mont Cenis, into the plains of Lombardy. Great were the rejoicings of the Lombards at his appearance. They thought he had come to call the pope to a reckoning. Not only the whole laity, but the very bishops were enthusiastic in such a cause, and he might have marched on Rome at the head of a considerable army, could he but have mastered his own spiritual terrors.

The pope was preparing to leave with his much-beloved Mathilda for Augsburg, whither the discontented princes of Germany had invited him, when suddenly came news of Henry's arrival in Milan. Never dreaming he was approaching as a suppliant, Gregory, in mortal fear, sought refuge with his fair friend, in the fortress of Canossa; thus, at least, placing stout stone walls between him, and, as he thought, the so redoubtable foe. But poor Henry came not as an enemy and a conqueror, but as the humblest vassal of holy church; and did but make his way to Canossa, to entreat for pardon in sackcloth and ashes. He found no welcome within the

walls; he was admitted no further than the court-yard; and there he stood in horse-hair shirt, bare-footed and bare-headed, for three long days and nights, from the 25th to the 28th of January, exposed to bitter frost and hunger; until at length the triumphant Gregory, at the entreaty chiefly of Mathilda, consented to forego any longer enjoyment of his antagonist's humiliation, and released him from the ban.*

Gregory still deferred granting complete absolution, but commanded a Reichstag (parliament of the empire) to be summoned; then Henry might clear himself, if possible, from the various charges that had been brought against him. "Only when he (Henry) had thus made his peace, and had further promised to be faithful and obedient to the pope should he recover crown and sceptre."

Since the world began no monarch had ever suffered himself to be so insulted by priestly arrogance as Kaiser Heinrich by Pope Gregorius, and the outspoken Lombards did not hesitate to say so to the royal face when

* The whole of this revolting scene at Canossa is described in a still extant letter of Gregory's, translated literally from the Latin, it proceeds:—"For three days did he (Henry IV.) stand over against the gates of the castle, deprived of every sign of royalty, forlorn, barefooted, in garments of serge, and awhile the tears ran down his face unceasingly; so cried he without intermission for the Apostolic pardon, to yield him some comfort and pity, so that all who beheld him, or had news of his plight, grew so pitiful for him, that they with tears entreated his pardon, yea, many declared, 'they could compass not the hardness of our resolve, and even openly marvelled, saying, we witness not to the dignity of the apostolic chair, but rather to its truly tyrannical cruelty.'" Among the intercessors to whom the pope at length yielded was, besides his beloved countess, a certain German Bishop Kuno of Urach, who could no longer bear to see the humiliation of the German emperor.

Henry returned. Then first dawned upon him an actual presentiment of the despicable part he had played, and, full of honest indignation and self-reproach, he gathered up his ancient courage, and promised the Lombard parliament to be amply revenged for the shame. The stout Lombards loudly cheered his resolve, and a second time he might have headed a Lombard host, but in the meantime serious troubles had broken out in Germany. At a Fürstentag (Council of the Princes) held on the 15th of March, 1077, at Forcheim, by the instigation of Gregory, Duke Rudolph of Suabia was chosen emperor in place of the absent Henry, having, of course, previously agreed to abandon the prerogative of "investiture." Henry was therefore obliged to make all speed back to Germany, but he did not return empty handed, the Lombards granted him considerable aid both in men and money, whilst throughout the empire, especially in the larger cities, so much indignation was excited at the assumptions of Gregory, that the emperor received support from all quarters, even a majority of the bishops declaring in his favour; the pope was growing too powerful even for them, and at a Fürstentag, held at Ulm, Rudolph of Suabia, Welf of Bavaria, and Berthold of Carinthia, were pronounced guilty of high treason. A struggle now arose, which was fated to continue even after Henry's death, and which plunged all Germany into the deepest misery and anarchy. Thrice Henry was vanquished, thanks to the military skill of Otto of Nordheim, and the pope hoped at last that he was crushed for ever. Once more the thunders of the anathema were hurled at his devoted

head, and Gregory sent a crown to Rudolph the rival kaiser, bearing the motto, "Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rudolpho." "The rock gave to Peter, and Peter gave the crown to Rudolph." Henry was but the more resolute after each defeat, and as Rudolph lost his life in the last battle, Henry at length got the upper hand. He gave no heed now to ban and anathema, but chiefly occupied himself in securing some means of fittingly taking reprisals on the pope.

He summoned a synod at Mayence, and shortly afterwards another at Brixen, and by both Gregory was unanimously deposed, and the archbishop of Ravenna, as Clement II., appointed in his stead. This sentence was notified by the emperor to his terrible opponent with the following exordium: "Henry, by the grace of God, not by usurpation, king, to Hildebrand, pope no longer, but a monk who hath forgotten his duty;" and at once prepared to cross the Alps, bring Gregory to punishment, and set up the newly-appointed pontiff. Gregory was not idle; for the third time he excommunicated his relapsed penitent, and banned the rival pope to the very lowest depths of hell. These amenities were reciprocated by Clement. Then Gregory called on his allies, Robert of Naples and Mathilda of Tuscany, to stand by him with their forces, whilst he busied himself in putting Rome into the best state of defence practicable under the circumstances.

Henry was not to be daunted by these preparations, and crossed the Alps in the spring of 1081, at the head of a fine army. His progress through northern Italy resembled a triumphal procession, and at Whitsuntide

he encamped before the gates of the Eternal City, having routed the troops sent against him by Mathilda, whilst Robert Guiscard declined altogether interfering in the quarrel. The city was, however, so well and bravely defended that he did not enter it until March, 1084, after a three years' siege. Hildebrand shut himself up in St. Angelo, and Henry having installed Clement II. in the Lateran, was crowned emperor by his hands in St. Peter's, with all possible solemnity.

Whilst these events were passing in Italy, the malcontent nobles and princes of Germany had met on the 9th of August, 1081, and elected Count Hermann of Luxemburg, the so-called "garlic king," as emperor, and his cause made such rapid progress that Henry found himself obliged to retrace his march homeward before reducing St. Angelo. Gregory immediately invoked the aid of King Guiscard, who, being assured but a small detachment from the German army had been left in charge of Rome, at once answered the appeal, and soon released the pope from durance; but, at the same time, gratified his own Normans with a full permission to sack the city. The Romans were so incensed that, immediately on their departure, they rose in rebellion, and obliged Gregory to seek safety in flight. This occurred in the autumn of 1084, and the pope found refuge with the Normans, who offered him the city of Salerno as his temporary abode. From thence he excommunicated Henry and his adherents a fourth time, but did not long survive this last discomfiture, dying on the 25th of May, 1085, and before Robert could commence a new campaign against Rome. On his death-

bed Gregory absolved all those whom he had anathematised during his life, except the kaiser and the rival pope Clement II., resolving to take his hatred of both even into the next world.

So ended the career of Gregory VII., sadly fallen from the grandeur and the promise of its commencement. He had seen the most powerful monarch in the world prone at his footstool; he plunged, by the stroke of a pen, a vast country, whose inhabitants were counted by millions, into fierce civil strife, and many hundred thousand men had slaughtered each other at his bidding; but his great aim and object—a papal universal monarchy—was yet left incomplete, and he, like a Napoleon at St. Helena, he, too, died in defeat and exile.

An admirable portrait of the great Hildebrand still exists in St. Severius church at Naples; he is represented holding the crosier in his left, and a scourge in his right hand, with piercing eyes, and red menacing countenance—a true type of sacerdotal arrogance.

IV.—THE TWO INNOCENTS (1198-1254), AND THE MENDICANT FRIARS.

The war cry, "Sacerdotium" on the one side, and "Imperium" on the other, was not silenced by the death of Hildebrand; indeed, each succeeding pope endeavoured to imitate his policy with more or less success. Of course, we cannot pretend to give a complete history of the papacy, the limits of the present work would be quite unequal to such a study, nor can we follow in detail the tactics inaugurated by the son of the Poano blacksmith. We must be content to record the chief

facts merely, and they will be fully sufficient to prove the peculiar character of the humility professed by the "Servi, servorum," the popes, whose great aim was the establishment of a theocratic autocracy.

The immediate successor of Gregory VII. was the famous Desiderius, abbot of Monte Casino, who took the name of Victor III.; the emperor had set up a rival pontiff called Clement III., and Victor, of course, lost no time in excommunicating both him and his chief patron, but Victor unfortunately died within the year, and thus left no very perceptible trace in the world's history. The cardinals then elected Bishop Otto of Ostra, who called himself Urban II., and administered the patrimonium of St. Peter from 1088 to 1099. He proved a worthy spiritual heir of Hildebrand, thundered the anathema, in 1089, once more against the rival pope, the kaiser, and their adherents, and incited Conrad, Henry IV's son, to rebel against his father; and, by arranging a marriage between the mature Countess Mathilda (see first book) and the young Duke Welf of Bavaria, soon organised a strong party in Germany against the emperor. The struggles between "Sacerdotium" and "Imperium" continued, with no decisive results, however, during the whole pontificate of Urban II., as the pope still managed to hold his own in Italy as the emperor did within the German territories.

The excommunication of the emperor, in 1094, which might seem to have been rather supererogatory, did not content Urban's taste for terrorising. He soon after placed Phillip of France under a like sentence for having divorced his wife, under the plea of too close consan-

guinity, though really that he might marry the pretty Countess Bertrade, of Anjou. King Phillip submitted to the church, rather than expose himself and his country to the fearful penalties of an interdict.

After the death of Urban, Pascal II. (1099-1118) was raised to the vacant throne, and at once prepared to renew the ban against King Phillip, who, on the death of Urban, immediately went back to the fair Bertrade. The king remained excommunicate during four years, that is, so long as any part of the French clergy continued faithful to him; but his people at length gave unmistakable symptoms of serious disaffection, and Phillip was obliged to yield. After solemnly swearing to have no further intercourse with Bertrade, he received absolution; but in the following year Pope Paschalis granted him full permission to marry her, on condition of giving his co-operation against the emperor of Germany, Henry V. Religion was always a mask for the political schemes of the papacy. Urban had persistently treated the emperor Henry with the same contumely as he had exhibited to the king of France;—excommunicated him, after the precedent of the foregoing popes; incited his second son (the eldest, Conrad, had died in the meantime) to rebel; and at length had the supreme satisfaction of learning the old Kaiser was a captive in the hands of the young prince. Henry IV. died of a broken heart soon after, and the pope would not even allow his corpse to be interred;—the Kaiser had expired unabsolved, and for five years he lay in his coffin unburied, at Spire, until apostolic majesty at length took pity on its dead foe, and he found rest in the grave.

Henry V. was now king and emperor, and found no one to contest his title. As he had made it good chiefly through the assistance of the pope, of course he repaid those good offices with promises of future obedience. Pascal therefore hoped to be troubled with no opposition from that quarter, and shortly published an edict, prohibiting the investiture of any of the clergy by lay hands, as Gregory had previously done, but found, greatly to his astonishment, that the new monarch set very definite limits to his gratitude, and was, above all things, resolved to yield no iota of the imperial prerogatives. Henry V., on the death of his father, put himself at the head of thirty thousand men, and marched over the Alps to come to a clearer understanding with the representative of St. Peter. He demanded definite abandonment of all pretensions to the right of investiture assumed by the pope, and all other ancient imperial rights. Paschalis demurred, and positively refused to perform the ceremony of coronation for his disobedient son. Then Henry, without more ado, seized the pope and the whole college of cardinals, and let his German followers plunder the papal palaces in a really scandalous manner.*

In fact, on this occasion, His Holiness and the cardinals were put in chains, like common malefactors. After this rough lesson a treaty was concluded, on the understanding that the right of investiture was to remain with the pope, though the emperor should be empowered to re-

* Italian writers of that age declared "the Germans had no religion at all; and after a few beakers of wine, would not even respect Jesus Christ himself."

tain at will any of the crown feoffs held up to that time by the bishops of his dominions. The emperor thought he had made no bad bargain; and after receiving the insignia of empire from Pascal, returned home with the papal Bull secured in his strong box. Yet, scarcely had he turned his back on Italy, than the pope called a synod at the Lateran, to annul all the engagements just signed and sealed. But, as apostolic majesty possessed a tender conscience, and had taken a solemn oath never to pronounce the ban of the church against the emperor, Pascal employed Archbishop Guido, of Vienne, to do so in his stead, and contrived, by various means, to thoroughly exasperate the princes and prelates of Germany against their sovereign. This happened in 1111, and the plot worked so well, that for five years Henry V. found himself so completely pre-occupied at home that it was impossible for him to take any measures to punish the pope's breach of faith. At length, in 1116, he once more crossed the Alps, and Pascal took flight to Benevento, throwing himself on the protection of the Normans. Two years later he, like Hildebrand, died in exile, first banning to the lowest depths of hell both the Kaiser and the rival pope, Gregory VIII., set up by him.

The papal party in Rome then elected in his place a certain Gelasius II. (1118-19), for Henry V. had been obliged to withdraw again in consequence of the constant troubles in Germany; but the partisans of the Imperium, at whose head stood the celebrated Cenizio Frangipanni, organised an insurrection, rushed into the church, where the cardinals had assembled to invest the

new pontiff with the insignia of his office, seized, and then dragged him by his hair through the streets, finally thrusting him, loaded with chains, into a dungeon. The cardinals, his partisans, received no better treatment. After a long contest, the priestly faction got the upper hand sufficiently, that Gelasius was enabled to make his escape from Rome. He proceeded to France, but died shortly afterwards in a monastery, though not without having anathematised his rival, Pope Gregory, the emperor, and all their adherents in Rome.

The cardinals, who had accompanied Gelasius to France, now nominated, under the influence of Cardinal Kuno von Urach, a personal enemy of the emperor,—the before-mentioned Bishop Guido, of Vienne,—to the papal throne, under the name of Calixtus II. (1119-24), and the newly-anointed pontiff commenced his reign by once more thundering the church ban against the emperor and the rival pope. He then took ship for Apulia, and reaching Rome by the aid of the faithful Normans, besieged Sutri, where Gregory VIII. had taken refuge. He obtained possession of the place and of the person of his rival, whom he had dressed in a freshly-stripped, bloody goat's skin, then mounted on a mangy camel and paraded through the streets of the capital. The fallen pontiff was finally consigned to life-long imprisonment within the walls of a monastery. Having thus made himself master of the patrimonium of St. Peter, Calixtus summoned a synod at Rheims (1120), and again Henry V. was solemnly pronounced excommunicate, and his subjects absolved from their allegiance.*

* Four hundred and twenty-seven bishops attended this synod ; each

A mutual condonation was brought about in 1122 between Kaiser and pope, by the so-called Calixtian treaty, by which it was agreed that the bishops of the empire should in future receive the spiritual "symbols of their office," the crosier and ring, from the head of the church, but the sword and sceptre from the emperor, in recognition of the feudal tenure of their crown feoffs. The appointment of bishops, abbots, &c., to remain as of old, with the cathedral chapters and religious foundations, under the superintendence of an imperial official, who had to invest the fortunate candidate with the sword and sceptre; then followed the papal sanction, without which no election was valid. Such was the end of the famous "investiture" contest, the bishops becoming more or less the mere vicars of Rome; for the absolute veto enjoyed by the latter proved an effectual bar to episcopal independence.

On the death of Calixtus II., the rival factions in the Eternal City set up their respective popes, Celestinus and Honorius II. The latter finally overpowered his antagonist, and governed from 1124 to 1130. No event of his pontificate need detain us, except the excommunication of Duke William of Normandy, for marrying against the apostolic views. After the decease of Calixtus, another contested election ensued, the one party choosing an Innocent II., the other Anacletus II. Both popes cursed each other to their heart's content; but Innocent remained master of the field, and further anathematised King Roger, of Sicily, for supporting

held a lighted wax candle, which he cast to the ground and extinguished with his foot, as the last words of the sentence were enunciated.

Anacletus, presently employing the like discipline against the king of France, with whom he was at feud concerning the appointment of an archbishop of Bruges. As the royal offender did not immediately yield, Innocent at once laid his kingdom under an interdict; nor was the ban removed until it had produced the required effect. Sadly offensive to Innocent was the disrespectful conduct of the patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch; their patriarchates had been restored after the Crusades, and they now asserted an equal dignity to their brother of Rome, for "Christ's presence had sanctified Jerusalem, whilst St. Peter was the undisputed founder of the church at Antioch." Of course Innocent fulminated a Bull against the presumption of these new rivals; but the trouble they caused could not be completely stilled, until Jerusalem and Antioch had both fallen again to the Mohammedans; but Innocent died in 1143, and therefore could not enjoy the ultimate victory of his see.

After several unimportant pontificates, of which we have nothing to cite, except that during them the people of Rome were several times placed under interdict, came the only Englishman who ever sat on the throne of St. Peter, Hadrian IV. (1154-1159). He was of the lowest extraction; a monk's bastard, indeed, and had been in menial service in France, saith the chronicle; but his former humble estate did not derogate from the traditional arrogance of his holy office. In the commencement of his reign, serious trouble arose with his Roman subjects, who were bent on establishing a republic under Arnold of Brescia, and he was even obliged to take

refuge at Viterbo, immediately after his coronation. From exile he pronounced sentence of interdict on Rome; and though the Romans at first treated his proceedings with contempt, they were soon brought to a more serious appreciation of their position when Easter came, and no priest dared perform mass, or any religious office. They held out, however, and would even have resisted the spiritual fears of the women; but the pope found other means of attaining his ends.

Frederick I., "Barbarossa" of Hohenstaufen, had been elected emperor of Germany in 1152, and proceeded two years after to Italy to obtain the imperial crown from the hands of the pope. Hadrian sent ambassadors from Viterbo to welcome him, and then proceeded in person to the royal camp. But his surprise and indignation was great indeed, to find the sovereign who had ridden forth to meet him, quite omitted to dismount, and lead the apostolic bridle rein; whilst his horror reached its climax when one of his attendant cardinals, when maintaining that the bestowal of the crown by the pope was actually the bestowal of the empire, was answered by his interlocutor, Otto of Wittelsbach, with a sword stroke, that would have infallibly split his eminence's skull, but for Frederick's interposition. The pope, however, sufficiently recovered his equanimity, when on arriving at the royal tent the emperor knelt down, and kissed his foot; he even ventured to demand why his majesty had omitted the customary "homage of holding the stirrup." Frederick thereupon held counsel with the ministers and bishops who accompanied him, and consented to perform it on being assured the Em-

peror Lothair had done so; but when the time came, he incontinently took the left instead of the right hand stirrup; and when Hadrian expostulated, Barbarossa answered laughing :—" Your Holiness must pardon me, I have had no experience as a groom." He willingly enough met the pope's wishes, when entreated to bring the rebellious Roman to submission, and thus enabled their apostolic liege to return to his capital, and perform the imperial coronation. After the ceremony, Frederick returned to Germany, but entered Italy once more, in 1158, the Lombards having risen in revolt. In the meantime Pope Innocent fell into very ill humour, the kaiser's increased influence was sorely inimical to papal policy: the Germans thus found themselves made the constant mark for papal spleen, whilst their great monarch was insultingly reminded, at every opportunity, it was to Rome he was indebted for his crown.*

So a great coldness arose between pope and kaiser; then the former bethought him to secure the help of the King of Sicily, in the meantime fulminating Bull after Bull against Frederick; but when the redoubtable Hohenstaufen had completely reconquered Lombardy, and given Milan to fire and sword, Hadrian felt it might be wiser to moderate his language, or rather to retreat into discreet silence; an idea but too well jus-

* The ostensible reason for the papal anger was that the see of Verdun had been filled by the emperor's sole authority; and His Holiness was still further annoyed, that two knights, who had robbed a bishop of Lund, travelling in Germany, were not summarily decapitated, and their heads sent to Rome.

tified by a letter he received from Barbarossa, of which the following was the exordium :—

“ Frederick, Roman emperor, by the grace of God, and ever supreme suzerain, desireth that the pope and the church shall only take concern for those things which Jesus commanded to be taught and practised.”

An unsavoury recommendation for the pope to swallow; and he would, doubtless, have replied to it, by excommunicating the giver at the first favourable opportunity; but he died almost immediately afterwards (1159).

It should be mentioned that the English pope made a present of his native country, with Ireland, and all the other adjoining islands, to Henry II., grandson of the “Conqueror,” as though the territory was in the actual possession of the holy see; though, in fact, it was still held by Stephen of Blois.

The successor of Hadrian, Cardinal Orlando Bandinelli, who assumed the name of Alexander III., had for nearly twenty years to maintain a constant struggle with the rival popes set up by the emperor. At the last moments of his own election, the contest ran so closely between himself and Cardinal Octavian, he only secured success by forcibly seizing the papal coronation mantle, and throwing it over his own shoulders, wrong side outward, however, so great was his haste. Octavian shortly afterwards drove Alexander from Rome, and mounted St. Peter’s Chair as Victor III. Both pontiffs appealed to Frederick, each hoping to win the imperial support; and he summoned an ecclesiastical coun-

cil at Pavia, before which they were respectively cited to appear.

Victor obeyed ; but Alexander declared on the authority of Gregory VII., that the pope could not recognise a superior judicial capacity in any council. The council felt insulted, and after brief deliberation declared Alexander's election invalid, and ratified Victor's claims, which then received the imperial sanction ; whilst Frederick commanded his subjects, especially the bishops and clergy, to recognise Victor as pope, to the exclusion of any other. Alexander did not acknowledge himself beaten, and solemnly proceeded to pronounce the ban against Victor, and the emperor, of course, absolving the subjects of the latter from their oath of fealty. Victor as inevitably followed this example, and cursed his opponent to all eternity ; whilst the whole of Europe was in a little time divided into two great factions, devoted to the rival parties at Rome. Sicily, with the Normans, Spain, France, and England, were on the side of Alexander. The rest of Italy, and the German empire, enlisted under Victor's banner, the Cistercian monks alone excepted. They preached the cause of his antagonist wherever they went, and were consequently banished from the dominions of the Barbarossa, whilst their vast lands and possessions were declared forfeited. As the greater part of Italy was opposed to him, Alexander found it necessary to seek safety in France ; and at a synod held at Tours once more, with bell, book, and candle, consigned his opponents, spiritual and temporal, to the hottest fires of hell. Victor, to return like with like, went through the same ghostly ceremony,

but died shortly afterwards in 1164. The schism was not allowed to die with him; the cardinals at Rome named Paschalis III. as the succeeding pope, and the emperor naturally ratified their choice.

Alexander again saw his throne usurped, but notwithstanding ventured back to Italy in the same year, though not before he had received promise of support from the king of Sicily; whilst he had further assured himself Kaiser Frederick had so much on his hands in Germany, he could not undertake a march upon Rome; and, moreover, both the Lombards and the Romans* had declared, they only awaited the return of His Holiness to prove their complete devotion to his cause.

The sovereign of Sicily and South Italy, received him with open arms, and the papal progress to Rome seemed a long drawn triumphal procession. Paschalis III. sought safety in flight. At the same time the northern states of Italy entered into mutual alliance against Germany, and the Milanese commenced rebuilding their city destroyed by Frederick. Thus the whole of the peninsula was up in arms against the Barbarossa, who, accepting the challenge, at once commenced preparations for a new campaign beyond the Alps, which he actually carried out in 1166. Fortune at first favoured his standard; thanks to the courage of his knights† and

* How well he had managed to secure the respect of the Romans, may be gathered from the fact, that they named a new fortress erected by them, Alessandria, in his honour, and in defiance of the emperor.

† A priest especially distinguished himself among the bravest in the imperial army; this was Archbishop Christian of Mayence, who commanded its vanguard. He was a man of extensive learning, and as famous a statesman as a theologian; though, perhaps, still more re-

men at arms. Every obstacle vanished before him ; he restored Paschalis to the Vatican ; was crowned emperor by his hand ; whilst Alexander had been but too glad to escape to Gaeta, disguised as a pilgrim.

But, suddenly, a terrible plague broke out in the emperor's camp, the marsh fever, which carried off two thousand of the nobles, without counting the tens of thousands of the common soldiers who perished, whilst the enemy received daily reinforcements, so that the only course possible without provoking inevitable destruction was for the invaders to retrace their steps homeward as quickly as possible.*

The Lombards, of course, again revolted, and there seemed no possibility the imperialists could maintain their ground in Rome. Paschalis had died, and the cardinals set up a Calixtus III. in his place, who failed not to strengthen his position by every means in his power, but was suddenly surprised by the return of Alexander at the head of a body of Normans, when no course remained but to secure at least personal safety by abandoning Rome to his rival.

For five years Alexander enjoyed uncontested power ;

markable for extraordinary physical strength. He slayed with his own hand no less than three hundred of the enemy before Bologna, and in one battle split the skulls of thirty-nine with his baton. The bishops of that time were not shepherds of souls merely ; they knew well how to wield the arms of the flesh when occasion offered.

* Several attempts were made to assassinate the emperor ; and at Susa, where the enemy surrounded the house in which he passed the night, he only escaped by the generous devotion of one of his captains, who, greatly resembling the kaiser, allowed himself to be taken prisoner and put to death in his stead. Frederick made his way over the Alps disguised as a pilgrim.

but by 1174 Kaiser Barbarossa had so far recovered his reverses that he was enabled to commence a new Italian campaign. Again, victory seemed chained to the imperial chariot wheels, and Alexander, in despair, had almost resolved to depart for Constantinople, since he could hope for no quiet in the west, when a crisis once more occurred in affairs to the advantage of the Italian party.

Henry, surnamed the "Lion," duke of Bavaria and Saxony, gave a too ready ear to the whispers of the papal emissaries, and, to his eternal dishonour, was persuaded, on the very morning of the battle of Lignano (May 29, 1176), to desert his colours, despite all the emperor's passionate remonstrances at a treason which inevitably brought a bloody defeat upon the German arms. The Lombards, with their far superior numbers, were thus able to counteract all the military tactics of Barbarossa. The imperial fleet suffered as serious a discomfiture, almost at the same time, at the hands of the Venetians at Pisano, when Duke Otho, second son of Frederick was taken prisoner. Barbarossa was thus induced to come to an understanding both with the Lombards, the Venetians, and with the pope, by which the title of Alexander III. was formally recognised (the two great rivals first saw each other at Venice in 1177), and Calixtus compelled to resign his claims.* From thenceforth there

* It strangely happened that the deposed pontiff's life and liberty were not only spared, but he was even permitted to remain in Rome, with an ample pension accorded by his triumphant rival. Alexander, indeed, often invited him to partake the pontifical hospitality; and it must have been no uninteresting picture presented by those two who a

was peace between "Imperium" and "Sacerdotum," so long as Frederick and Alexander lived.

Alexander, though now left undisturbed by the emperor, was not the more disposed to sink into idleness, but at once occupied himself with his projects against King Henry II. of England. Whilst in France he had made acquaintance with Thomas à Becket, the Plantagenet's prime favourite, and contrived completely to secure his adherence to the papal views. The astute Saxon, notwithstanding this, rose even higher in the affection and confidence of his master, and presently found himself created Lord Chancellor. Though his talents commanded respect, his arrogance made him many foes, and some of these presently accused him to the king of malversation of the public revenues. The prime minister was cited before a judicial court to answer the charges, and he appeared, but in his full dignity as the primate of the English church, wearing the sacred robes of his priestly office, bearing a crucifix in his hand. He declared he would submit to no temporal court of judgment, and appeal to the pope; then, leaving the hall, hastened as speedily as possible to France. Scarcely had intelligence of these proceedings reached Alexander, than he at once appointed the fugitive archbishop his legate at the English court; and Becket returned to England with a brief from the pope to King Henry. The king made peace with his old favourite, but Becket had not learnt wisdom or moderation by the

short time since had invoked all the powers of Heaven and Hell in reciprocal cursings, now pleasantly exchanging compliments and jests over their wine cups.

late events, and soon exhibited greater pride and presumption than ever. We all have heard of the royal exclamation, "Will no one rid me of this proud priest?" and the consequent departure of the four knights for Canterbury, where they found the archbishop reading vespers in the cathedral. Then followed the desecration of the sanctuary by the assassination of the proud Saxon. The atrocity of the deed not only excited an universal cry of horror from the priesthood of England, but well nigh from that of the whole world, and the pope was loudly adjured to demand retribution for the murder of his legate; in anticipation of this, Henry at once despatched an embassy to Rome to explain how the affair had originated. The pope long refused to receive the ambassadors, and only relented when they had given their word their master was prepared to submit fully and entirely, to the decision of His Holiness. They then assured Alexander, upon oath, that King Henry was totally innocent of the murder, although a few angry words he had spoken had been misunderstood, but he was ready to fulfil whatever expiation the Holy Father might please to impose. Alexander was satisfied, and shortly despatched two legates to England charged with communicating the papal sentence to the king. It was one little palatable to the royal feelings. Henry had to publicly declare on the Holy Evangelists he had not desired the death of the archbishop, then make a pilgrimage to the martyr's grave, and there kneel to receive from eighty priests, each armed with a three-thonged scourge, the full tale of two hundred and forty lashes on his bare shoulders; finally, enter into a

solemn promise to commence a new crusade, and banish the four guilty knights until, by a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and Rome, they had made their peace with the pope. Under such conditions King Henry was forgiven, and we may be justified in according to Alexander III. the same laurels of victory over the temporal power as those won by Gregory VII. For this it was surely sufficient that the proud Plantagenet had kneeled in the dust, and the great Kaiser Frederick held the apostolic stirrup, even though it were the left one.

To Alexander, succeeded five quite unimportant popes, whose united reigns numbered only sixteen years. One of the number, Lucius III., was the first pope elected by the Sacred College without any interposition of the people, the lower clergy, or the nobility of Rome. Another, Urban III., contrived to distinguish himself by opposing the union of King Heinrich, eldest son of Barbarossa, with the daughter and heiress of the king of Sicily. He had a very appreciable distaste to so dangerous a neighbour close to St. Peter's throne. Frederick I. carried out the plan, notwithstanding; and Urban* is said to have died thereat of vexation. After these five, then succeeded the great Innocent III., who ruled the church from 1198 to 1216, and who, after

* Pope Urban suspended all the bishops who had been present at the ceremony. The bishops kissed the rod and were restored to favour. King Heinrich, meeting one of these shortly afterwards, angrily demanded: "to whom he was indebted for his See, and the broad feoff lands appertaining to it?" "Assuredly to none other than the pope," was the reply. Whereat the king was so angered, a summary application of the stick to the episcopal shoulders was immediately applied, by royal order. The lesson concluded by rolling his Grace in the mud.

Gregory VII., was assuredly the most remarkable man that has ever occupied the apostolic chair. The care of his father, Count Trasimonte da Siena, had given him the best education the age afforded : he had studied at Bologna and Paris ; and few popes have been better initiated into the learning of their day than Innocent. With these acquired advantages he united an iron will, and an intellect brilliant as it was subtle, whilst his pride surpassed almost papal arrogance ; and his rare ingenuity was chiefly employed to increase the treasures his avarice so loved to hoard. Of this at least we have the proof, that the papal "idea" was developed by him into the realisation of an universal monarchy ; and he acknowledged no superior to himself upon earth. The "pope is king of kings and lord of lords," declared Innocent, in one of his addresses, still extant ; and from this we may easily conceive what attitude he adopted, both towards the church and the temporal power, when, at the age of thirty-seven, in the full vigour of manhood, he mounted the apostolic throne.

His first achievement was the complete subjugation of Rome and the Romans, and the full establishment of the temporal power of the papacy over the patrimonium of St. Peter. We have already seen how he accomplished this in our "first book," and need not now be detained by further consideration of his German policy. We have seen the profit he extracted from the struggles between the two rival emperors, Otho and Phillip, and to what triumphant effect he employed ban and interdict ; we have seen how he succeeded in making Otto IV., Phillip the Suabian, and Frederick II., take the

oath of fealty to him. It is now our business to observe in what manner this Jupiter Tonans acted towards the other sovereigns of Europe, after subjecting the German emperors ; how he attained the goal of his ambition, and lived to see all Europe at his feet.

The foundation of the papal supremacy was built, as we have seen, upon the Pseudo-Isidorian decretal. To bring that bold fabrication into active utility, Nicholas II. had employed anathema and interdict ; Gregory VII. invented compulsory celibacy ; and finally, Innocent III. added to the great edifice of papal power that which was well worthy any thing done by those who had gone before him,—we mean the “ Mendicants ” and the Inquisition. Monks had existed from very early ages, and then came monastic establishments in manifold variety. Begging friars were, however, a complete novelty among monks ; they constituted an institution founded on new rules, and devoted to new objects. They made the vow of “ poverty ” so inclusive, that they bound themselves to “ live wholly by daily alms,—to possess no property whatever ;” whilst the vow of “ obedience ” meant for them complete and unconditional subjection to the will of the pope. They might not inaptly be called the soldiers of the papacy ; for every mendicant fraternity, whether Dominican,* Franciscan, Carmelite, Augustin, or Capuchin, represented so many light infantry, under the command of the pope.

* The Dominican and Franciscan were the first begging fraternities established ; the former was founded by St. Dominicus Guzman, the latter by St. Francis d'Assisi. Both received authorisation, or rather consecration and organisation, from Innocent III.

The people manifested a great liking for the mendicant orders; the new monks readily attained the arts of vulgar popularity, and were especially successful in ingratiating themselves with women. They accepted no money on their excursions, only offerings in kind,—such as meat, flour, bread, soup. They cultivated good humour and sociality, and often made the peasant forget his hard fare whilst they seasoned the black bread with many a good joke. By such means, and still more by the simplicity of their dress * and mode of life, was their success ensured with the lower classes; whilst they made themselves still further useful by exorcising devils, excommunicating witches, and such like pious labours. So any little shortcomings, in the matter of cleanliness or strict morality, might well be overlooked.†

They soon engrossed nearly every village confessional: they gave much lighter penances to their female penitents than the regular clergy; and their influence, within a short time, surpassed that of all the other members of the priesthood.

Their numbers increased with marvellous rapidity, and

* The costume of a mendicant friar consisted in a serge gown, an under petticoat, a pair of sandals, and a pocket handkerchief,—nothing more. Later, a wooden tobacco box was added, and an ugly peaked cap. Hats or cravats, stockings or hosen,—no such vanities were known by the good brothers, as we may well believe, when they even ignored shirts. (The nuns of the Franciscan and Capuchin Orders are subject to the same rules, and frequently suffer severely, after first professing, from cutaneous affections, produced by the friction of their rough gowns.)
—*Translator.*

† A saying, once current in Germany, ran:—"He eats like an Augustin, lies like a Dominican, drinks like a Franciscan, wenches like a Carmelite, and stinks like a Capuchin."

in a few decades they had spread over every kingdom in Christendom.

These monks, dependent as they were upon the pope alone, and recognising no authority but his, became inevitably a very redoubtable weapon in his grasp. One word from Rome could set a million mendicant friars in action to carry out the wishes of His Holiness. His Holiness was minded, perhaps, to carry things with a high hand against some offending sovereign, would excommunicate him, and place his dominions under interdict. The duty of the brown-frocked light infantry was, then, to penetrate the hut of every thral, the house of every burgher, and paint, with many sighs, and in the most appalling colours, all the terrible consequences of the anathema, until the superstition and fears of the people had been so excited, that, though never so attached to their ruler, they, for deadly terror, renounced allegiance to him. This single aspect of their mission may sufficiently convince us of the importance of the mendicant orders to the papacy. We can pass over their various other occupations, their services as university professors, &c.,—for those services were never employed for any other science than that of ministering to papal ambition. We should remember, however, that one of these orders made the extirpation of heresy its chief object, and soon brought religious persecution into an organised system: this was the order of St. Dominic, whose monks might not inaptly be called the papal “Corps of Observation.” Under Innocent III. the dogma, that “all who dare think or speak in disaccord with Rome, ought to be exterminated with fire and sword,” was

raised into fundamental law ; and to this persecution with fire and sword three thousand volunteers devoted their whole energies. They were the slot-hounds of the Vatican ; and their services were far more useful to its policy than those of all the other orders united.

The pope's rule over Christendom, by aid of the Inquisition, was far more absolute than any eastern despotism. The limits of the present work quite forbid our entering on any closer details of the life and proceedings of these "mendicants," or the horrors of the Inquisition : we must be content with calling the reader's attention merely to the great additional influence gained by the popes through this last invention, and keep in mind that Innocent III. was the inventor. But, under such circumstances, it is no marvel no power on earth was able to withstand the terrible pontiff.

At that time Alfonso X., who had married a daughter of King Sanctius of Portugal, ruled over Galicia and Leon. His consort was related to him in some very distant degree ; but the bishops of Leon, when applied to by the king for a dispensation, had made no difficulty in according it. The pope, however, had not been consulted, and Innocent, on learning the circumstances, at once ordered Alfonso to put away his wife. Alfonso did not at once comply ; then Innocent passed sentence of excommunication on him, and threatened to lay his lands under an interdict unless he proved his repentance by immediate submission. With such a threat held over him, his majesty had no course left but meekly to kiss the rod, and send back the queen to her father, who, incensed at the insult offered to his daughter

broke off all connection with the Roman see. But he paid dearly for his anger; Innocent at once despatched a legate with threats of the church ban unless the rebellious King Sanctius consented to recognise the papal suzerainty, and send the same yearly tribute to Rome which had been promised by his father in gratitude for the royal title. Sanctius was in as miserable a dilemma as his son-in-law; but finally resolved it were better to pay the tribute than encounter all the horrors of ban and interdict, and risk the loss of his crown.

King Philip Augustus of France was less manageable, relying, doubtless, both on his own strength and the good sense of his subjects, but even he found the kingly diadem was doomed to bow to the tiara. Phillip had married the beautiful Agnes de Meran after divorcing the princess Ingeborg, almost immediately after his union with her, because her brother, King Knut of Denmark refused co-operation against the English. Knut applied for redress to Innocent, and Innocent immediately commanded the King of France to put Agnes away, and recall his former consort. Phillip refused, and his kingdom was placed under interdict, whilst the pope next incited the emperor of Germany and several other sovereigns to declare war against him, so that France was at once menaced by discontent within and foreign foes from without.

Pedro of Arragon acted on very different principles to his royal brother Phillip Augustus; voluntarily taking a journey to Rome to receive his crown from the hands of the pope, and formally constituted his kingdom a vassal fief of St. Peter. Kalo Johannes, who had made

himself lord of Wallachia and Bulgaria, acted with no less servility. An embassy was sent by him to the Vatican, and, doubtless, to gloss over the usurpation, he besought a recognition of his regal title, of course in exchange for his kingdom's vassalage. Innocent accorded the favour, and despatched a special legate into Bulgaria with a crown and all the insignia of royalty, charged, moreover, to anoint and enthrone this king by "papal grace." Innocent employed prerogative with not less boldness in dealing with Poland, Hungary, and Liefland. The kings of both the former countries consented, without opposition, to pay tribute to Rome, and he then summarily declared Liefland a jointure domain of the Holy Virgin, and made it over to the knights of the Sword, of course on the understanding that they should conquer it from the heathen Letts.

Thus governed Innocent III. from the east to the west, from the north to the south of Europe. His power even made itself felt in Constantinople, and he fondly dreamed of extending it into Asia. After the conquest of Constantinople by the crusaders, in 1204, Count Baldwin of Flanders was elected king of Byzantium, and Thomas Maurolenus patriarch of the eastern Latin church. The new patriarch immediately went to Rome to procure ratification of his title from the pope, but Innocent refused recognition of an election originating with laymen ; but at length, at the intercession of Baldwin, not only consented to acknowledge the new dignity but to invest him with the insignia of his office, on the implied condition he should be guided in all things by the will of Rome.

Innocent, in all his dealings that we have yet seen, fully carried out his assumptions as "king of kings, and lord of lords;" but the most notorious exhibition of his arrogance was reserved for England. When the Lord primate died, in 1205, the Augustin monks of Canterbury quietly installed their superior, Reginald, in the vacant see, which was by far the wealthiest in England. Reginald went to Rome to procure the pope's consent to his installation. In the meantime King John grew angry in seeing what he regarded as the richest sinecure in the gift of the crown thus slip from his grasp, and compelled the monks to make a new election, and appoint, at his dictation, John Grey, bishop of Norwich, who was at once invested with all the landed possessions of the primacy. This appointment was also communicated to the pope, but he unhesitatingly denounced it also as uncanonical, and commanded a new election to be effected forthwith, indicating Stephen Langton, of whose sentiments he had satisfactory proof, as the candidate to be chosen. Langton, of course, obtained the see, and received the papal sanction. King John saw clearly through the whole scheme, and knowing what the hypocritical humility of the monks was worth, he was for once justified in his violence when he drove the whole fraternity out of Canterbury, seized their property,—banished Stephen Langton beyond the limits of the English dominions, and wrote a letter of angry remonstrance to the pope for his meddling in the internal affairs of England, to which the appointment of the primate essentially appertained. The pope well knew the craven spirit hiding beneath these high words,

and replied as a monarch to his vassal. John held his ground, and grew more and more incensed; then the pope, driven to extreme measures, thundered forth the ban of the church against him, and the interdict over his whole land. John, maddened with rage, swore by "God's truth," he would banish or imprison every priest who dared obey the interdict, and refuse his proper functions. But Innocent had well studied his plan of action; he knew how little John was liked by his English barons, and, without delay, despatched his legates to proclaim the papal curse from every pulpit in the devoted kingdom. The king caused the legates to be seized, their noses cut off, their eyes put out, and, thus maimed, sent back to their master. He next proceeded to confiscate the lands and goods of all the clergy, whether bishops or abbots, or simple priests, who attempted to carry out the pope's orders, and banished or imprisoned the offenders.*

Notwithstanding the royal menaces, nearly every prelate in the kingdom took side with the pope, and soon throughout the country no church bell pealed, no form of worship was celebrated. Innocent called a council of cardinals at Rome, when all John's vassals were absolved from their allegiance, and the newly-invented begging friars received orders to incite the lower classes to revolt. The friars liked the duty well enough, and soon complete anarchy threatened the whole land; for whilst one party held fast to the king, and would have

* King John was but an ill-conditioned son of the church in his best moods: once, having shot a fine buck, he exclaimed, "What a glorious fat beast; yet he never read a mass forsooth!"

been well pleased to make short work with the whole clergy, another—numerically far stronger—found conscience at issue with loyalty, and refused obedience to the royal officers. This state of things continued for some years, and with each year the schism in the state spread wider, until every county, parish, and family in the kingdom, was alike divided between the predominant factions. King Philip Augustus, like his forbears, had certain very natural longings for the French territories of the English crown, Normandy, Picardy, &c. The pope well knowing this, not only pronounced John's forfeiture of his sovereignty over them, but as formally bestowed it on the king of France, adding, besides, that of England, Ireland, and their dependencies; though, of course, under the condition that Phillip at once made good the gift by his own sword.

Then Phillip collected a large army to carry out the sentence, whilst Innocent preached a crusade against England, and promised plenary absolution to all who took up arms in the cause, whatever their previous misdeeds had been. King John saw the ranks of his foes swell daily, whilst many of his previous adherents, some of the most powerful of his barons among them, abandoned his standard, and the people became more and more discontented at the misery to which the universal disorder he had caused condemned them. Open hostilities had commenced, a great battle was to be fought, when suddenly the famous papal legate, Pandulph, arrived at Dover, made his way to the royal camp, and offered the king pardon and grace, on condition of his immediate submission; or if he refused,

immediate deposition and ruin. John saw at last the odds were too great against him, for he could anticipate little support from his own subjects, and so grown suddenly docile, promised to fulfil every slightest particular required by the pope.

The interview with Pandulph took place on the 23rd of May, 1213. The king not only agreed to reinstate Langton in the primacy, but that every banished or dispossessed priest should be immediately recalled, and fully indemnified for all losses the royal acts had caused him. John further promised to defray the whole cost of the war, and paid the legate eight thousand pounds by way of a first instalment for the pope. The triumph of Rome was complete. Two days later John resigned the crowns of England and Ireland into Pandulph's hands, or rather laid them, together with one thousand silver marks, at his feet, to receive them back under vassalage to the holy see. The legate retained the insignia of royalty for five days, and finally restored them on the sixth as a free gift from the pope; then first condescending to have the one thousand silver marks removed from the floor of the church in which the interview had taken place, and where they had been left lying the whole interval. England was thenceforth to be a papal fief in perpetuity, and pay a yearly tribute of one thousand marks in recognition of the fact. Not till this treaty had been solemnly sworn to and published, did the king receive absolution from the ban, and the king of France commanded to suspend further hostilities.

Thus was England bent to the yoke, and there now

remained no sovereign in Europe who had not either with, or against his will, acknowledged the absolute supremacy of Rome. The famous maxim of Gregory VII., "*Summi Pontificis voluntas decretum est*," (The will of the Pope is law), was realised; and Innocent's not less famous aphorism:—"the pope is the sun, and temporal rulers like unto the moon, receiving their light, like her, from the greater orb," made a fact.

If Innocent thus treated those beyond the pale of his authority, in what manner he acted towards the church that was placed immediately under it, the reader may readily imagine. He appointed or deposed the great prelates at will; whilst the lower clergy, his "brethren in Christ," were to him as though of some utterly inferior race. He no longer permitted the clergy attending ecclesiastical councils (we may cite that of the Lateran, summoned in 1215),* to discuss the questions upon which they had been convened; he simply stated his own views, to which all were required to give their immediate adherence.

Through the Inquisition he ruled men's souls, as through the kings he dictated their political acts, until no one dared gainsay his will, or do aught but as he

* This council was attended by seventy-one archbishops, four hundred and twelve bishops, eight hundred abbots, many temporal princes, and ambassadors from all the crowned heads of Europe; one thousand five hundred dignitaries in all. At the opening, the crowd was so great the bishop of Amalfi was crushed to death in it, and a more imposing display of ecclesiastical grandeur had never been witnessed. Yet there was no thought of debating the measures proposed; the pope had his decrees read to the assembly, and it registered them with acclamation, after the manner of well-drilled, well-fed slaves.

commanded, for terror of the scaffold and the torture chamber, presided over by the dread Dominicans.

Innocent III. died in 1216, in the very zenith of power, and no thought ever assailing him that that power would ever be stricken or overturned. Nor could the fall of papal despotism have been then foreseen; his immediate successors trod devoutly in his footsteps, and the supremacy of Rome seemed established for ever. The contest in which it was soon to be involved with the Emperor Frederick II., seemed for the moment but the more to increase and strengthen it; but its foundations were undermined, and downfall was approaching.

Of Honorius III. (1216-1227), who next wore the tiara, nothing of interest is recorded, unless that he was a merciless persecutor of heretics by the stake and the axe of the Inquisition. Under his pontificate originated the differences with Kaiser Frederick II., which at first seemed to promise the German monarch would be a "devoted son of the church." The quarrel did not come to an open rupture until the reign of Gregory IX. (1227-1241), a Count Segna by birth, related closely by blood, and still more by character, to Innocent III. The kaiser had promised Honorius to commence a crusade against the infidels, but deferred the undertaking year after year. Gregory sharply remonstrated at the procrastination, and as Frederick still found pretexts for delay, threatened to pronounce the ban against him. The reason of the pope's impatience, was not any peculiar religious fervour against the paynim, but the desire of getting the emperor out of the way, his majesty

having grown inconveniently powerful, through his possessions in Sicily and South Italy. Frederick saw this very clearly; but to avoid forcing things to extremities, finally yielded, collected an army at Brundisium in 1227, and set sail for Syria. But the emperor fell ill of an epidemic, with several other persons on board his vessel, and the symptoms became so serious, that he put back to Otranto, and sought restoration at the baths of Puzzioli. Gregory declared this delay a mere trick, and passed sentence of excommunication on Frederick. The latter defended himself in a manifesto, in which he characterised the papal despotism in somewhat strong terms, but at the same time despatched an embassy to Rome, to express his resolve to prosecute the crusade as soon as the state of his health would allow; but this did not satisfy the pope, who demanded his instantaneous departure. Frederick naturally did not obey, and this hesitation, added to the unpalatable words of the manifesto, so incensed His Holiness, that he made the ban to include a general interdict, and not only commanded all good Catholics to hold no communication with the disobedient sovereign, but strictly prohibited any priest from performing the offices of the church, in any place desecrated by the arch offender's presence.

Frederick responded by another manifesto, and directed his clergy to fulfil their spiritual duties as before, without regard to the papal orders, under penalty of displacement, and a dungeon. Gregory was so exasperated by the words of his antagonist, which levied a blow on the whole papal system, whilst they denounced the

priesthood as the main cause of all troubles and disorders, that he determined to anathematise the emperor a third time, and with still more imposing solemnity. He therefore proceeded, at the head of his cardinals and the whole clergy of Rome, to St. Peter's, to read the ban, and extinguish the symbolical candles; but the kaiser had partisans even in St. Peter's peculiar city: and they, in the very midst of the awful ceremony, forced their way into the cathedral, fell on the pope and the princes of the church, and so roughly handled them, they were glad to escape from Rome for some length of time. In the meantime Kaiser Frederick recovered his health, and started once more on the proposed crusade; but the pope was more enraged than ever at this new presumption; he had anticipated the emperor, before setting out, would have humbly entreated absolution, as no excommunicated person was justified in undertaking any pious work. Gregory sent messenger after messenger to Palestine, commanding the military religious orders, the priests and people there, to give no aid or countenance to the unhallowed undertaking. Nor was this deemed sufficient. He next incited the Lombards, always ready enough for such provocations, to shake off the imperial authority, and marched in person, at the head of a considerable army, into Lower Italy. Thus arose the struggle between Guelphs and Ghibellines; a struggle which desolated the unhappy peninsular for centuries.

The adherents of the emperor were entitled Ghibellines, from Waiblingen, in Suabia, the original birthplace of Kaiser Conrad, the founder of the Hohenstaufens

dynasty; the Guelphs were so named from Welf (Guelpho in Italian), duke of Bavaria, husband of that Countess Mathilda by whom the church had so richly profited. Notwithstanding the threatened storm at home, the kaiser set out for Acre, marched in triumph on to Joppa, and, after a great battle there, made peace with the sultan on the most satisfactory conditions, the latter yielding to his conqueror not only the province and city of Jerusalem, but the whole country lying between it and Joppa, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Acre. This success, instead of softening Gregory's wrath, did but the more exasperate it. He immediately laid Jerusalem itself under the interdict, and was but too sorry a plot contrived by the Templars did not succeed. But the sultan, whom they would have made a party to it, was far too honourable to rid himself of an enemy by assassination, and immediately informed Frederick of the contemplated treason. This scheme frustrated, Frederick made his way to Jerusalem, and placed the crown he had won on his own brow with his own hands, as no priest would perform that office, or even read mass for him. In the mean time the report was spread through Italy that he had been taken prisoner in Syria, or was actually dead, and the pope took every means possible to induce the German princes to choose a new emperor whilst anarchy prevailed throughout Italy. But Frederick suddenly made his appearance at Brundisium on Italian ground, soon collected a considerable body of troops, and made himself master of all the southern portion of the peninsula, then entered the states of the church and destroyed all before him with fire and

sword. Gregory, very ill at ease, offered to remove the ban, and absolve his refractory son, on payment by the latter of 100,000 ounces of gold; for popes rarely consent to grant unpaid favours. Frederick, who was careless enough where money was concerned, agreed to the proposal, and peace was restored. It did not long last, however, for the pope secretly persuaded Henry, eldest son of the emperor, to join the Lombards, then at war with his father; but a formal rupture did not take place until two years later, for the emperor had overpowered his rebellious son, and transferred him, for life-long captivity with wife and child, to the castle of San Felice. The pope then continued to incite the Lombard cities to another insurrection in 1236, and though Frederick won a brilliant victory at Cortenuova (26th, 27th November, 1237), the siege of the fortified cities—Milan, Bologna, Piacenza, and Brescia, lasted so long that the imperial troops were decimated by fever and hardships.

Gregory hoped this unfavourable state of things might be turned to his own profit, whilst it would prevent the imperial influence becoming predominant in Italy. He was more than ever incensed with Frederick, who, after conquering the island of Sardinia from the Saracens and thus acquiring legal right to dispose of it at his will, had constituted his son Enzo king. The pope, however, declared it was a feoff of Rome, and demanded its restitution to the holy see, whilst he enforced the demand by pronouncing the ban against Frederick II. once more. In this anathema, which was published on Palm Sunday, 1239, the Hohenstaufen was denounced as "the enemy of the church, and an usurper

of the patrimony of St. Peter." The pope commanded the vassals of the empire to refuse longer obedience to "him who ought to be regarded rather as a pagan than a Christian." The Bull of excommunication was filled with charges of murder, perjury, cruelty, falsehood, sacrilege, idolatry, of every conceivable crime in short, against the greatest of the Hohenstaufen. Such insults could not pass unnoticed, and Frederick issued a manifesto in which he likened the pope to "a monster whose greed would never be satisfied until it had absorbed the whole world," with various unpalatable truths of the like character. Frederick had copies of this document sent to all the princes in Christendom, and others posted on the doors of all the hotels de ville and churches throughout his dominions, "so that every one may see what a befouled priest is this pope, and how little of St. Peter successorship hangeth to him." The facts exhibited in the imperial protest were a bitter draught for the pope to swallow, and he resolved, in his rage, to adopt the course of his great predecessor Innocent III., and declare the refractory sovereign deposed; at the same time instructing the begging friars to spread themselves over the length and breadth of the empire, and stir up the people to rebellion, whilst he offered the forfeited crown of Germany to Louis XI. of France. But Kaiser Frederick was no King John, nor Gregory IX. an Innocent III. The kaiser kept his crown despite interdicts and monks, displacing every priest who dared obey the commands of Rome, and drove the brown and black frocked incendiaries out of his dominions, too often minus their ears; whilst the clergy who persisted in publishing the

papal Bull, did so under the penalty of the gibbet. Having re-established order in Germany, he marched with a powerful army over the Alps, chastised the Lombards, then advanced on towards Rome, conquering and wasting all the country as he went. The pope, more enraged than he had ever been before, and feeling quite safe behind the fortifications of his capital, with a good army to defend them, resolved to call a general council for all the bishops of Christendom to meet and anathematise the emperor. Such a design, of course, could not be kept secret from Frederick, and as a great many prelates, especially from France, Spain, and England, had gathered at Genoa to proceed by water to Rome, for all the land roads thither were commanded by the imperial troops, he directed his son Enzo, viceroy of Sardinia, and Grand-admiral of the imperial navy, to seize the Genoese vessels as soon as the bishops were safely on board. Enzo came up with them close to the island of Meliora, secured his prizes, and gained a complete success. All the bishops were taken prisoners, some of the number, known as the most determined foes of the emperor, were thrown overboard and drowned, the rest despatched to lower Italy, and consigned to various of the imperial strongholds. This occurred in 1241, and the news of the cruel reverse so broke the spirit of the pope that he never rallied from it, and expired soon after; but remembering that he was already upwards of ninety years of age, this will not much surprise us.

The star of the emperor was clearly in the ascendant, and the Sacred College did not venture to elect a new pontiff inimical to him;—it even offered him the choice

between Cardinals Godfrey and Romanus. He decided for the former, who was at once proclaimed as Celestin IV., and who immediately announced his readiness to conclude peace with the Germans. Unhappily, this proposal could not take effect, as he died seven days after his coronation, doubtless of poison, administered by some of the adverse faction. Then followed an interregnum of eighteen months before the college of cardinals, which was split up into the two opposing factions of Guelphs and Ghibellines, could come to a decision. The honour at length fell to a Genoese count, Cardinal Fiescho, a supposed adherent of the emperor,—though not until he had firmly secured the tiara did his real politics appear. He assumed the title of Innocent IV., and at once opened negotiations for the liberation of the prelates still held captive in lower Italy. Frederick declared himself quite willing to grant their freedom,—but, naturally, on condition of his own release from the ban; whilst Innocent insisted their liberation must be unconditional, when he would grant the absolution as a free boon from the church. The emperor lost patience at this quibbling, collected his troops and marched upon Rome, when Innocent, fearing to share the fate of the bishops, disguised himself, and contrived to make good his escape to the Genoese vessels, which were lying off Civita Vecchia, ready to bear him to Lyons. Then, safe on French soil, he summoned a council, which was, however, but scantily attended. In spite of this, and in defiance of the protest of the emperor's ambassador, Thaddeus of Sessa, who with eloquent indignation denounced the wrong done his master, the pope pronounced the ban

against Frederick and declared his sceptre forfeit. "When we," he exclaimed exultingly, "shall have bound and laid prostrate this huge dragon (Frederick), we may with small ado trample under foot all the smaller serpents." In these few words we have an epitome of the whole papal system; and Kaiser Frederick, feeling this, issued a second manifesto,* in which he protested, firstly, "the papal ban was null and void, since the pope united in his own person the separate functions of accuser, witness and judge;" and, secondly, that "there could be no peace in Christendom until the whole priesthood was brought to the apostolic life of the early centuries." Angered more and more at this unsavoury reasoning of his antagonist, Innocent refused the proffered mediation of King Louis XI. of France, and called on the princes of Germany to elect a new emperor. Frederick II., tired of the endless struggle, and willing to go as far on the path of conciliation as possible, offered to resign his throne to his son Conrad, and set off to Palestine to do battle with the Infidels; but this was not sufficient for the pope, who contemplated nothing less than the complete extirpation of the whole Hohenstaufen family, as the enemies of the papacy. Then commenced the war between Guelph and Ghibelline once more. The priests of Germany, to whom the clear-headed Frederick had long been a grievous thorn in the flesh, sided with Rome, and by their efforts things went so far that in 1246 a part of the electors chose Heinrich Raspe, generally called the "Pfaffen König" (the

* Petrus da Vineis, Frederick's chancellor, was the author of this manifesto.

priest's king), as kaiser. The pope aided the pretender with considerable subsidies, and the clergy of the empire assisted him liberally; but so detested was he by the great mass of the population, that when defeated by Frederick's son Conrad, at Ulm (Frederick himself was in Italy), in 1247, his cause would have been completely lost, even had he not died so shortly afterwards. This failure did not at all dishearten the pope, who once more put up the crown of Germany to the highest bidder. For a long time no candidate appeared. Otto of Gueldres, and Henry of Brabant,—one of whom Innocent hoped to secure,—proved equally indisposed to enact the part of a sham king to please His Holiness; but at length William, Count of Holland, caught at the bait, and once more the papal coffers were opened wide to support the new minion. He was actually crowned in 1248, but found himself so harassed by the army of the brave Conrad, that he was glad to make good his retreat into Holland. But the triumphs of the Hohenstaufen in Germany were more than neutralised by the events taking place beyond the Alps, though Frederick himself commanded his army there. After suppressing a rebellion in Sicily, fomented by the pope, he was about to deal with the revolted Lombards, when a series of events occurred which completely broke the brave kaiser's heart. The city of Parma, which he had invested, managed, by a sudden, well-contrived sortie, to put his forces to the rout: this alone was a serious reverse. The pope succeeding in gaining over the Bolognese for the Lombard cause, though until then they had always been faithful to the emperor. Then King Enzo took the field for

his father against his subjects, but he was made prisoner in an engagement,* and consigned to close captivity.

At length, and this perhaps was the most cruel blow of all, Innocent succeeded, by a heavy bribe, in corrupting Frederick's most trusted friend and counsellor, Petrus da Vineis, and induced him to attempt poisoning his master. The plot did not succeed. Da Vineis was discovered in the act, when his eyes were put out, and he was cast into prison in Pisa, where he killed himself, by dashing his head against the wall. But the emperor's belief in his good fortune was for ever destroyed. Once more he set himself to regain his lost influence, but then suddenly fell ill (doubtless, a more capable poisoner had been found), and died on the 13th of December, 1250, at Florence, in the arms of his natural son, Manfred.

The Hohenstaufen was vanquished, and the pope rejoiced almost frantically at the victory. "The heavens shout with gladness and the earth dances, for Herod is dead," he wrote. "Now, not one of that accursed race, with our will, shall ever possess the empire, or Suabia, or even Sicily." Indeed, the imperialists seemed effectually overcome, and Innocent abandoned Lyons to take up his abode in Rome. Still there were two Hohenstaufen left,—the brave Manfred, and Conrad IV., who had succeeded to his father's crown. Innocent immediately fulminated an anathema against them, for no other cause than that they were their father's sons; but

* Enzo remained in prison until his death, 15th of March, 1272, upwards of twenty-two years after his capture, though his father, Frederick, had offered as ransom a silver ring, large enough to encircle the walls of the city.

they had to bear all the consequences the terrible decree brought in its train. Universal disorder prevailed in Germany ; insurrections arose on all sides ; the country was torn by ceaseless feuds. Conrad proceeded to Italy, to secure at least Sicily and Apulia ; made a treaty of alliance with Manfred, subdued Sicily in 1252, Naples in October, 1253, Benevento shortly afterwards, and prepared for a campaign in the centre and north of the peninsula, when his death, in May, 1254, put a stop to all his plans. Another Hohenstaufen was removed, and there now only remained his infant son Conradin, and Manfred. The pope declared the crown of Sicily, as that of a reverted fief, at his own disposal ; and offered it successively to Count Charles of Anjou, Earl Richard of Cornwall, and finally to Prince Edward of England. But those gallant peers did not catch at a bait so much beyond their reach ; the pope might have as well proposed to them certain vassal lands in the moon. Innocent did not therefore grow idle, but sent an army into south Italy and Sicily, and within a short time brought all the provinces to submission. But at the very moment when he believed these broad lands were for ever merged into the states of the church, Manfred, who had been collecting an army at Luceria, a Saracen colony in Sicily, fell upon the papal mercenaries at Foggia, and gained a complete victory over them, December 2nd, 1254. This reverse caused the death of Pope Innocent IV., the rage it threw him into bringing on an attack of apoplexy, of which he expired eleven days later.

Innocent IV. had nearly become supreme ruler of the

whole of Italy, and might boast of having as completely humbled the German empire as his predecessor Innocent III.: but when the excitement of the contest was over, and his own last hour was approaching, he must have felt that the huge colossus, on whose head he stood, already began to tremble beneath him, for the manifestoes of the great Frederick had brought truths to light, which until then had been hidden behind a veil no one dared to lift. The very foundations of the papacy were threatened, the efficacy of the ban questioned, and a desire that the priesthood should return to the simplicity of apostolic times, was already making fast way among the people. How bitter must have been the thought of death to the pope's soul whilst one of the Hohenstaufen was still unconquered; to die, indeed, at the very moment when Manfred had almost annihilated the papal army. Could he have seen into the future, could he have learnt how both Manfred and Conradin, twelve years later, would alike be destroyed, thanks to the perseverance of Clement IV., he might well have been consoled. Had still a little more foreknowledge been granted, then, indeed, this consolation would but have been lost in a still more cruel disappointment, could he have seen beyond the death of the two last of the Hohenstaufen, to the consequences it would bring, the destruction of one of the chief supports of papal power—belief in papal omnipotence!

On the death of Innocent, the cardinals again elected a Count de Segna to the vacant throne. The new pontiff assumed the name of Alexander IV., and reigned from 1254 to 1261, but he poorly replaced his predecessor.

He excommunicated Manfred, and placed all south Italy under interdict, but this rigour was to little effect. Manfred drove the Roman legates out of Sicily, and defeated the papal troops, though a great crucifix was borne in front of their ranks. Naples was next conquered by him; and in August, 1258, the brave bastard was crowned king of Sicily, at Palermo, where not only all the barons of his dominions and delegates from the cities, but nearly all the bishops of Sicily and south Italy were gathered to do him honour. The bishops remained faithful to Manfred notwithstanding the interdict, and did not abandon his cause, though the pope proceeded to excommunicate and depose them also. For the first time the church thunderbolts proved quite innocuous; they had been somewhat too much abused of late, and in nearly every instance to serve the worldly ambition of the papacy. The same evil fortune awaited the holy see in the north as in the south of Italy. The famous Czelino da Romano, chief of the Ghibeline party, obtained a decisive victory over the Guelphs in Lombardy, and exhibited so little respect for the papal anathema, that he had several of the episcopal prisoners, taken in arms, and even certain papal legates executed, and others condemned to perpetual captivity. In Germany, however, the pope's credit stood higher than ever, for on the death of William of Holland several of the electors hesitated to acknowledge Conradin, the last Hohenstaufen, as king of Germany; and when the pope intimated, through the archbishop of Mayence, that whoever voted for Frederick's grandson must do so under penalty of the ban, whilst the vote would remain

invalid, the threat had the desired effect, and no one ventured to declare for him.

Alexander IV. died in 1261, after experiencing the bitter mortification of seeing the very States of the church pay tribute to Manfred, who, despite ban and interdict, gained the battle of Montaperto, September 4, 1260, and made himself master of Tuscany. Then succeeded Urban IV. (1261-64), the son of a cobbler, but as proud as the proudest of his predecessors. He at once fulminated a third excommunication against Manfred, and even preached a crusade for his destruction, but Manfred defeated the crusaders, and obliged the pope to take refuge in Orvieto. After Urban's death, came Clement IV. (1265-68) to the throne of St. Peter, who devoted himself to the destruction of the Hohenstaufen, and, in imitation of Innocent IV., invited the count of Anjou, brother of Louis IX. of France, to take possession of Sicily and south Italy. The count accepted the proposal, his brother offering the aid of a French army, and so taking ship with the latter, arrived in Italy, and proceeded to Rome, where he was anointed king of Naples and Sicily by the hands of the pope, January 6, 1266. Manfred, with an army composed partly of Germans, Saracens, and Neapolitans, advanced to meet his new antagonist, and a battle took place at Benevento, February 26th. The Germans and Saracens fought as bravely as they always fought, but the Neapolitans had been previously gained over by the monks, and in the midst of the engagement marched over to the enemy. Thus was the day lost for Manfred, who, seeing his forces thrown into hopeless panic, rushed into the

thickest of the slaughter, and died a soldier's death. Some days afterwards his lifeless body was found, covered with wounds. The pope ordered him to be buried, as an excommunicate, by the bridge of Benevento, as unworthy a more honourable grave; but the people, the very French soldiers, took shame at such an enmity, which could not even be satisfied by the death of its victim, and so heaped up stone upon stone on the spot until a monumental pile arose, which obtained the name of the Rocca delle rose. So ended Manfred, and the fortunes of his house. His three sons were imprisoned by the count of Anjou, and so kept until their death, thirty-one years later. But one Hohenstaufen still existed at liberty, the young Conradin, born in 1252. The people of the two Sicilies, in a few years, growing weary of the tyranny of Anjou, invited Conradin to reclaim his portion in the Hohenstaufen inheritance. Full of courage and enthusiasm, the young prince crossed the Alps, in the summer of 1267, with his friend Frederick of Baden, and an army of 10,000 men. He was enthusiastically welcomed in Lombardy, and neither the pope nor Anjou felt at ease. His first battle had been won against the French at Porte de Valle, and a second at Tagliacozza, August 23, 1268. Unhappily, on this occasion Conradin's troops dispersed in search of plunder, when the Comte de Valery, Anjou's field-marshal, fell on them with his reserve in the midst of their disorder, and a complete rout ensued. Conradin and his friend Frederick endeavoured to escape to the sea shore, thence to proceed to Sicily, but were discovered by Frangipanni, prince of Asturia, on attempting to sell a

valuable ring, were at once taken prisoners, and delivered to Anjou. Clement's joy was unbounded, but he did not rest satisfied until Conradin and his friend had been made to pay for their temerity on the scaffold.* So passed away the great house of Hohenstaufen. Its blood is on St. Peter's throne.

We have seen how the popes secured supreme power in their own hands, and with what manner of humility and moderation they exercised it. We have now to regard those causes by which the papal power gradually sank to its decline, until completely submerged in the flood of the French revolution.

* The pope was asked by Charles of Anjou in what manner the captive princes should be treated, since the legal authorities who had considered the case, with but one exception, unanimously declared they ought to be regarded as prisoners of war: "Prince Conradin had been taken in arms fighting for his inheritance, and therefore could not be considered as a rebel." The pope laconically replied, "*Vita Conradini, mors Caroli; mors Conradini, vita Caroli*;"—(the life of Conrad is the death of Charles; the death of Conrad is the life of Charles). Then Anjou no longer hesitated in the course he should take.

CHAPTER III.

FALL OF THE PAPAL DESPOTISM.

THE fall of papal despotism has been very generally ascribed wholly to the Reformation effected by Martin Luther, but this we hold no just appreciation of the actual facts. Kaiser Frederick's various manifestoes had already awakened men's minds to the arbitrary pretensions of the papacy. The successors of St. Peter might, indeed, hope to destroy their most relentless adversaries in destroying the Hohenstaufen dynasty, but was not the very struggle to do so the unconscious means of creating a still more redoubtable enemy—enlightenment? Then came all the manifold influences of the crusades. The popes had expected by their means to extend the influence of the see of Rome over Asia as it already existed in Europe, but, instead of this, these knight-errant expeditions were the means of spreading a wider knowledge of the world both among those who entered on them and among those who listened to their adventures in after years, and with this knowledge grew doubts of the justice of papal assumptions. The chief stumbling-block of offence offered by the next succeeding popes was in the extravagance of their court and

their own monstrous arrogance. Boniface VIII., 1294, gave, perhaps, the most notorious examples of these characteristics. Not alone were his coronation robes completely encrusted with gold and precious stones, but he wore under them a suit of complete armour, after the fashion of earthly potentates, and completed the costume with an imperial mantle; thus dressed, and wearing the triple crown, he exhibited himself to the Roman populace, whilst he declared power imperial as well as the sacerdotal authority was represented in his person. His words were even more extravagant than his acts; witness the following excerpt, literally translated from one of the Bulls issued by him:—"God hath placed us above all other princes that in his name we may uproot, destroy, spoil, and scatter; or, on the other hand, build up and cherish. Let not yourselves be cajoled into the belief there are any greater than ourselves; or venture to refuse unconditional obedience to the head of the church. Whoso thus thinketh is a fool; whoso persisteth therein must be cast forth from the sheepfold of the faith as an unbeliever." Such language was too presumptuous for its absurdity not to be apparent, yet Boniface imagined his power so secure that nothing could endanger it. He severally pronounced sentence of excommunication against eight crowned heads. He commenced with Erick of Denmark for the affair of Archbishop Lund: Erick yielded, and humbly sought forgiveness; but His Holiness was most effectually worsted when he came in collision with Phillip le Bel. Phillip, who was no less powerful than clear-headed, was then contesting Normandy with Edward of England,

and the pope seized the opportunity to insist that the princes should make peace with each other, though at the cost of the French monarch. The latter declared the quarrel was no church question, and His Holiness had best keep his counsels for a fitter occasion, and tacitly consented to the very conclusive answer given by his cousin the Count of Artois to the papal proposals; the count had simply torn the parchment in two and thrown the fragments into the fire. The pope was exasperated beyond measure, and became still more so when, shortly afterwards, King Phillip issued a decree that neither gold nor silver, coined or uncoined, should leave France. It was evident the prohibition was made solely with regard to Rome, whither, as we have seen in our first book, sums incalculable were sent annually. A correspondence between pope and king followed, too characteristic but that we must quote a few passages from it. The pope wrote:—"Bishop Boniface to Phillip, king of France. Fear God and obey his commandments. Thou shalt know by these presents that thou art subject unto us in things temporal as in things spiritual: whoso denieth this we denounce as a heretic." Phillip replied, "Phillip, by the grace of God king of France, to Boniface, who setteth himself up as chief pope, small, or eke no greeting whatever. Know, thou archfool, we are subject to no man in things temporal. Whoso thinketh otherwise, we hold him as a crackpate and a fool."

In much the same style were the ensuing dozen epistles of this correspondence, in which His Holiness and His Majesty mutually abused each other.

The affair, of course, was not to be ended by letters merely. The pope assembled his cardinals, and resolved with them to excommunicate and depose the king. The Bull to this effect, and which, among other amenities, entitles Phillip a "profitless fellow," was sent by a nuncio to France, and Boniface enjoyed the hope that under threat of ban and interdict his rebellious son would assuredly kiss the rod. Phillip, however, without more ado, at once threw the nuncio into prison, had the Bull burnt by the hands of the common hangman, and immediately summoned a parliament, in which the nobility, clergy, and burghers were represented. The question was then in due form submitted to its decision: "whether Phillip or Boniface was lord of the realm of France?" And the unanimous reply at once was given: "Your majesty is our lord and king." Nor was this all; in the course of the discussion such home truths were uttered, especially by the famous Guillaume de Plessis, that His Holiness might have swooned with horror, or have heard them whilst Chancellor Roguet even proposed to dethrone him as "a heretic, and a creature half distraught." Such language had never been employed before, and it probably suggested to the people a very different view of the papacy to any they had yet entertained. The pope, replied, indeed, with another Bull of anathema, cursed the king and his issue to the fourth generation, laid all France under an interdict, absolved the French from their oath of fidelity, called on the king of England and the count of Flanders to make war upon France, and, finally, made over the doomed kingdom to Albrecht, emperor of Germany, of course under

the usual condition that he should conquer it. But even these energetic measures failed, for as the parliament and people of France were heartily devoted to their king, not only was there no insurrection within the realm, but the princes, whose aid had been invoked by the holy see, thought fit to maturely reflect before picking the chesnut out of the fire for His Holiness. Boniface raged fiercely; but his rage was to cost him dear. King Phillip sent his chancellor, Rogaret, with Count Sciara Colonna (a personal enemy of the pope), under pretext of certain friendly negotiations, but, in truth, for quite other than friendly objects. Boniface was staying at his country seat, Anagni, in the Campagna. Rogaret and Colonna, with their followers, to whom was soon added a considerable number of Italian nobles, friends of Colonna, surrounded the palace, then forced their way into the sala, where the pope, alarmed by the disturbance without, had calmly taken his seat, though not before he had assumed his full pontifical robes, and triple crown, and grasped the crucifix in his right hand. But the aggressors he had now to face paid a like indifference to his costume and his curses, seized him in the name of the French king, set him on a wretched horse, his face to its tail, and so paraded him through the streets amidst the laughter and mockery of the people of Anagni, finally thrusting him into a dungeon, where he was left for three days almost without food. In the mean time his partisans, learning what had taken place, gathered their forces, succeeded in rescuing him from captivity, and led him in triumph to Rome. But

his mental and bodily powers had been both too severely tried; he went mad, and was found, a few days later, dead in his chamber, his grey hair dabbled in blood, his lips covered with foam, and the marks of his teeth in the staff he held. So ended Boniface VIII.

Still more inimical to the pretensions of the papacy than even the insane arrogance of Boniface, was the transference of the papal residence to Avignon,—an emigration that has not inaptly been called the Babylonian captivity of the church. By bribery and intrigue, King Phillip succeeded in elevating Bertrand, archbishop of Bordeaux, a Gascon, to the papal throne in 1304, as Clement V.; and he, having previously arranged the matter with his patron, declared Italy, and Rome especially, far too distracted with sanguinary feuds to afford him a safe residence; refused to leave France, and summoned a council of cardinals at Lyons. The cardinals obeyed, the pope was crowned, and then took up his residence, first at the latter city, then at Bordeaux, then at Poitiers, and finally, in 1308, at Avignon, which, together with the surrounding province of Venaissin, had become, partly by gift, partly by purchase, church patrimony. It is very easy to divine King Phillip's policy, in thus domiciling the popes in France: he had resolved, "St. Peter's successor should only dance in future to his piping;" and desirous, above all things, of uniting the crown of Germany to that of France, as in the days of Charlemagne, he believed the pope might materially aid that object with the required excommunications, &c. He had determined, moreover, on the destruction of the

Templars, in order to seize their possessions ; and the assistance of a pope devoted to his interests was not less necessary to this latter scheme.

Clement V. did everything the king required, and his immediate successors were alike tractable. Their pride was cruelly humbled ; but they endeavoured to disguise the fact, under the still greater arrogance with which they treated all other worldly potentates, especially the German kaisers. Clement laid the Emperor Henry VII. of Luxemburg under the ban, for maintaining the imperial claims to Sicily ; and contrived to gain over Henry's confessor, a Dominican, to poison his sovereign in a sacramental wafer.*

His successor, John XXII., the son of a cobbler of Cahers, carried things with a still higher hand. After the death of the Luxemburg, the candidature for the imperial throne lay between Ludwig the Bavarian, and Friederich of Austria. But Phillip of France, who now hoped to secure the German crown for himself, caused the pope to intervene in the contest, and invited the two rivals to submit their claims before the apostolic throne at Avignon, that they might be fittingly decided ; and as neither Ludwig nor Friedrich paid any regard to this injunction, Clement at once declared the empire vacant, and himself its sole curator, until a new election had been effected. This fresh injunction was as little heeded in Germany as the former one. The pope then excom-

* The generous monarch, on feeling the poison begin to take effect, cried to his murderer, " In the very essence of life thou hast given me death : depart, before my people come."

municated the two disobedient princes, and endeavoured to win over the Electors to the candidature of the French king. But all his efforts were fruitless : on the contrary, indeed, they made "the Bavarian" come to an amicable agreement with his Austrian antagonist, and ultimately obtain the sole sovereignty of Germany. Thereupon the pope fell into a very fury of indignation, anathematizing the new emperor a second and a third time. Ludwig, on his part, called a general ecclesiastical council, and by his direction the famous canonists, Marsilius of Padua, and Johannes of Ianduno, drew up a manifesto, showing that St. Peter himself had never possessed greater authority than the other apostles ; and further, that the whole priesthood,—simple curates, archbishops, popes,—were spiritually equal. This raised a new tempest at Avignon. The pope denounced "these so-styled doctors of the church, these professors of canon law, as worthless fellows, sons of Belial,—braggarts ; a spawn, begotten by the father of lies, blasphemers against God, and pestilential captains of heretics ;" anathematised the emperor a fourth time, and again invited the Electors to choose another sovereign for Germany. Ludwig answered, by marching with an army into Italy, where he was crowned king at Milan, and emperor at Rome ; at the same time formally declaring Pope John deposed, and appointed in his stead the Minorite monk, Renalucci da Korvara, whom the Romans received with enthusiasm. The new pontiff assumed the name of Nicholas V., performed the coronation of his patron in all solemnity, and burnt the Avignon anti-pope in effigy, after laying him

and all his adherents under the ban. John fulminated the like curses in return, denouncing his rival as a son of hell, and the emperor as the incarnate offspring of Belial.

Thus things proceeded with little variation until 1335, when John XXII. died, and Benedict XII., son of a pastrycook at Foix, succeeded him. The new French pope would gladly have made peace with the emperor the more willingly, as the latter was prepared to make considerable concessions; but the king of France totally forbade any overtures of the kind, and commanded the immediate renewal of the excommunication pronounced by John. The world might then have clearly seen how mere a tool of the French monarch the successors of the apostles had become. But the German princes took heart of grace, and meeting under the presidency of their emperor at Reussen, on the Rhine, in the summer of 1338, unanimously decreed the law, which remained ever after in force throughout the empire:—that whoever might be raised to the imperial dignity by the majority of the Electors, should thenceforth be regarded as legitimate king and emperor, without need of any previous consent or subsequent recognition by the pope. This was the first firm step towards the overthrow of papal supremacy in temporal matters; and though Clement VI. (1342-52), successor of Benedict XII., a passionate, arrogant man, invoked the most terrific curses on the head of kaiser Ludwig,* the resolutions of the electors

* We venture to quote the following sample of this anathema:—
“We call on divine Omnipotence to overcome Ludwig’s arrogance; to crush him beneath Its hand, and deliver him into the hands of his enemies. May the Lord smite him with madness, blindness, and foolish-

were not affected ; and the apostolic lightnings glanced off with merely a harmless flash and an innocuous echo. This very anathema was the last any pope ventured to denounce against a German emperor.

Such over much cursing, cursing too, for such very common-place objects, led inevitably to this result, that men grew pretty well indifferent to the papal bolts, and chiefly for this cause was the residence at Avignon, when excommunications had to be launched by wholesale at the bidding of the French king, a very fatal arrangement for the papal prestige. A still more fatal circumstance was the demoralisation rampant at the Avignon court. A clearer insight was gradually growing up among mankind, and the veil of sanctity which had so long enwrapped the papacy, was, fold by fold, unwound from the great idol.

Was it indeed, possible, that reverence should be entertained for a John XXII., who, as shameless as he was arbitrary, held the vilest trickery justifiable, so it filled his coffers ; or for a Clement VI., an Urban V., and how many more, who were so demoralised by every vice, that Petrarch, Baluzius, Mezeray, can find no words damning enough to represent the riot and abominations of their court. It is no marvel men arose who, like the English Wickliffe, declared the church could assuredly well flourish without a pope, since there were no

ness. May the heavens send down their lightnings upon him, and the wrath of God consume him in this world and the next. May the earth open and engulf him, all the elements turn against him, and within one generation may his name die out from among men. May his home be desolate, his children slain by their foes, even in his sight, even before his very eyes."

longer any good ones. No marvel their fellow Christians eagerly listened to such teachers, and shielded them from all the efforts of papal tyranny.

A stiller, stronger nail, in the coffin of ecclesiastical despotism, was made by the contempt created by the church schisms. Of these, the so-called Great Schism was the longest in duration; it extended from 1378 to 1429, and during the greater part of the period there were three contemporaneous popes, each ruling and reigning from his peculiar seat. Each of the three announced himself as the only true pope, and cursed his rivals to the lowest depths of hell. Thoughtful men in Christendom might well ask themselves which of the triad was the real successor of St. Peter, and which liars and deceivers; others went further in their questioning, and came in conclusion to the idea the whole papal institution was a mere profitless comedy.* Satires upon satires showered fast upon the popes; pasquinades were sung, or, at least, written on them; and these irrefutable dialectics did more injury to their cause than even the stern exposures made at the great councils held at Pisa, Constance, and Bale.†

* See book: Pope and Infallibility.

† The very street boys of Florence sang, "Papa Martino non vale un quatrino." Martin, the pope, is not worth a groat. The initials of Pope Nicholas V., N.V.P., were said to indicate "nil valet papa" (the pope is good for naught). The writings of a Puci, Poggio, and Valla, in Italy, of a Rablais and Etienne in France, of a Brandt, Fischart, Hämmerlin, and Wurner, in Germany, were literally devoured, notwithstanding their "scandalous" contents. Under the very eyes of the pope, who had no power to repress the new abomination, there flourished the greatest pasquinade makers the world had ever seen—

Yet several popes employed all the means at their command to rescue the falling prestige of the papacy. Pius II. (1458-1464) was among the most energetic of these; but whilst Cardinal Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, he had dealt such telling blows at its abuses, that when pope, with all his acuteness and learning, he could never make good the injury.* All effort indeed, could be but of little avail; for knowledge was once more awakening, whilst its light was gradually diffused abroad by the newly-established universities. We need not remind the reader that the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks now took place, when the Greek population fled in vast numbers into Italy, taking with them a rich treasure of Greek manuscripts and Greek learning. But it was in the crowning glory of the fifteenth century, in the invention of printing, that superstition and despotism found their most terrible foe. From the first moment the popes had an instinctive dread of the press.

the famous Pasquino himself, and his coadjutor, Marsorio. Their caustic wit, their relentless satire, gave more cruel wounds to the papacy, perhaps, than any amount of abstract reasoning.

Pasquin, was the name of a witty tailor of Rome, who used to write his squibs against Innocent VIII. on a broken column in the city. The column itself was afterwards called Pasquino, and so became a personified god of gibes; as a companion to this, another column was chosen in the capitol, and christened Marsorio (Martis, forum). Thenceforth both mocked away at papal doings to the great satisfaction of their citizen readers, for scarcely a day passed but some malicious dialogue was found inscribed on them.

* On the throne he retracted all his accusations against the papacy made by him at the Council of Bâle, and declared in a special Bull, anno 1463, that those earlier assertions had been "Errores juvenilis animi" ("the misconceptions of a youthful mind").

It was printing, indeed, which destroyed for ever the aureole which had floated around the Vatican. The veil was lifted, and the fetish exposed in its crude absurdity.

Paul II. (1464-71) boldly denounced excommunication against Podiebrad, king of Bohemia, as a Hussite, and solemnly declared him deposed. Podiebrad was the last against whom the sentence of deposition has been pronounced by a bishop of Rome. But the king of Bohemia defeated the Crusaders sent against him; for the emperor of Germany refused them support, and thus the brave Hussite kept his crown. Within a short period the power of the popes sank so low, that Alexander VI. applied to Sultan Badjazet of Turkey (July, 1494), for help against the most Christian king, Charles VIII. of France.

But in the Reformation effected by Martin Luther the papacy received its worst blow, though the reigning pontiff, Leo X., affected to treat the movement as a common-place squabble of the mendicant friars, on the dogma of absolution.

We cannot here enter into the history of the Reformation, and it is scarcely necessary to remind the reader, that by the knowledge spread through the contest between Lutherans and Papists, the whole Christian world was soon filled with profound contempt for the man who occupied St. Peter's throne.* The dread

* Luther generally entitles the pope "Antichrist," or frequently his "Hellishness," or his "Jugglership." The words, "knave," "swine of Epicurus," "ass pope," "Devil's progeny," serve in turn to designate the head of the church for the great doctor.

of ban and purgatorial fires vanished when mankind had learnt to read the Word of God for themselves. Moreover, for the ill-fortune of Rome, the immediate successors of Leo X., Hadrian VI. (1522-23), Clement VII. (1523-34), were but weak rulers, who imposed respect on no man. The best proof how much the fear of papal authority had given place to contempt and scorn, is in the treatment offered the papal residence in 1526, by Charles de Bourbon, Connétable de France, as commander of an imperial army. His forces consisted of Germans, Spaniards, and Italians—Catholics, with few exceptions; yet, despite this, Rome was stormed and exposed for six months to treatment, compared with which the conduct of the Vandals of old had been gentle and merciful. All respect for the very saints had been fore-sworn, the churches ransacked for treasure, altars carried off, silver and gold Madonnas, monstrances, reliquaries all seized without any conscientious qualms. Nor was this process of plundering sufficient: nunneries were forced, and transformed into brothels. Some of the soldiery amused their idleness by dressing in the robes of the pope and cardinals, and then marching in mock procession; whilst by way of climax, they made a burlesque election of Doctor Martin Luther for pope.

A certain Ritter Friendsberg, of Suabia, constantly carried a thick gold cord in his pocket, with which he had resolved he said to hang the pope at the first opportunity. The papacy marched with giant strides to its fall; and, though Kaiser Charles V., 1530, condescended to be crowned at Rome by Clement VII., it was the first imperial coronation which had taken place there for

eighty years, and proved the last ; nor did the pope gain any political advantage by it.

Paul III. (1534-50) succeeded Clement VII., and he was fated to display the complete impotence which had fallen upon the holy see. His predecessor refused to sanction the first divorce demanded by Henry VIII. of England, for the Emperor Charles V. was a near relative of Queen Catherine, and had determinately opposed it. Then Henry divorced himself, and married the fair Boleyn. The pope retaliated with a Bull of excommunication, laid all England under an interdict, declared the king deposed, and called on all Christendon to make war on him. But neither the emperor of Germany, nor the king of France, were disposed to attempt such a war ; for the time when the thunders of the Vatican struck home, and made other effect than empty noise, was long since past. The only result of the ban was, that Henry and England cast off all vestige of allegiance to Rome, and became forthwith Protestant. However false the position was into which Paul then fell, he contrived to make good the rehabilitation of papal authority, by establishing the Order of the Jesuits. Though the founder was Ignatius Loyola, its essential "jesuistry" was instilled into the fraternity by the popes themselves.

The Jesuits were created. Their chief vow was unconditional obedience, their chief aim the destruction of all heresy, especially the Protestant. It was the Jesuits who opposed science with systematised stultification, and the light of truth with pious darkness ; they it was who, as confessors to kings and great potentates, as professors at universities, and tutors to the

future governors of mankind, endeavoured to tread out all free inquiry, and restore the submissive ignorance of the middle ages. Into their hands all ecclesiastical power soon lapsed; and but for them, their poisons, and organised assassinations, Protestantism would have embraced all Europe.

From this time forth commences the wholesale persecutions of the Protestants; persecutions which numbered their victims by hundreds of thousands.

The work was inaugurated by Julius III. (1550-55), when he called on Queen Mary of England to put all her non-Catholic subjects to death. For the rest his influence was as inconsiderable as that of his immediate predecessor, and he distinguished himself by nothing but his detestation of those who persisted in reading the Bible. Paul IV. (1555-59) showed far greater energy. Elizabeth of England was pronounced incapacitated from reigning by him, on account of her heresy; but the English only laughed at his objections, and all diplomatic intercourse between Rome and their government was broken off. Paul III. emulated the great Hildebrand in like manner, when he commanded Henry II. of France to appear before the apostolic judgment seat, for refusing to make war on England. King Henry had no greater inclination to obey the second than the first behest; and when the pope then cited him to answer for his disobedience at the "judgment seat of God," his majesty replied, "he devoutly hoped to present himself there, but much misdoubted meeting His Holiness at such a place."

The pope again seriously compromised his cause by

his quarrels with the Emperor Ferdinand of Germany, having determined to withhold any recognition of his election, because his majesty had accepted the crown without previous authorisation from Rome; and was still more exasperated when the new sovereign made peace with the Protestants—"a peace in violation of God's prerogatives." The consequences of the papal indignation were scarcely satisfactory; for not only was great irritation caused in Germany by such "shameless popish insolence," as it was now termed, but the kaiser ordered his ambassadors to leave Rome, and published the opinions formerly given by his chancellor, "that as the election of the emperor was a purely temporal matter, the pope was totally unjustified in meddling in it; forasmuch, the emperor was none the less emperor, without being crowned by the pope."* The pope then adopted another line of policy, and endeavoured to come to a better understanding with Ferdinand through conciliatory measures.

Under Pius IV. (1559-66) the famous Council of Trent held its sittings. It had opened in 1545, and was not closed until 1565. Its proposed objects had been the reformation of the church, and reconciliation of the Protestants; but, thanks to the Jesuits, it utterly failed in both, for the papacy still clung to the theory of its ancient prerogatives, though all the actualities of the world had so greatly changed. Yet, resist as they

* In this manifesto it is said, among other matters:—"All things coming from Rome were of old held holy or divine, now men question them mightily; and whether of the old or new religion, they make merry at the ban, when erst they would have spoken with fear for it."

might, the spirit of the age was still mightier than the bishops of Rome, and it was but a puerile assumption of Pius IV., when the Emperor Maximilian II. having notified his election in the usual diplomatic form, His Holiness, quite unasked, returned his solemn authorisation to the act. Pius V. (1566-72) indulged in a still greater absurdity when he excommunicated Queen Elizabeth; and Sixtus V. was scarcely less ridiculous in extending the ban to Henry IV. of France. Henry replied to the Bull merely by the satire, "*Hotomanni Brutem Fulmen*;"—(the ban of the pope edited by Hotman), in which the popes were told the most unpalatable truths, and all France laughed at the papal thunderer. Sixtus' successor, Gregory XIV., came off less well, for having renewed the Bull of excommunication against Henry, the latter caused it to be publicly burned, and prepared to create a French patriarchate completely independent of Rome.

Clement VIII., who wore the tiara from 1592 to 1605, had the pleasure of witnessing Henry's conversion to Catholicism, though he might question the influences that produced it, when the Bourbonnais jestingly declared "*La France vaut bien une messe.*"

Clement VIIIth's successor, Paul V. (1605-21), is memorable as the last pope that ever pronounced an interdict. The republic of Venice was its object. Venice had always made itself obnoxious to the papacy by its liberalism;* but when the Venetians went so far as to

* The famous Venetian proverb, "*Primo Veneziani, poi Christiani,*" sufficiently indicates the Republic was no very devout child of mother church.—(*Trans.*)

ordain that without the consent of the senate no new monastery should be founded, and inaugurated the practice of punishing clerical misdeeds under the same laws to which laymen were amenable (in Brescia, for instance, putting an Augustin monk publicly to death who had violated and then murdered a young girl); then, indeed, the pope lost longer power of endurance, and laid the whole territory under the ban. The senate, however, burnt the Bull of anathema, and commanded the clergy to continue their functions on pain of deprivation. All obeyed but the Jesuits and Capuchins, who therefore suffered confiscation of their property, and were driven beyond the Venetian frontier.*

The interdict was quite ineffectual, and grew a mere bye-word and jest after Paulo Sarpi's attack on it as alike illegal, unchristian, and absurd. A year later the pope, at the intercession of France, voluntarily recalled it; but this brought only fresh humiliation, for the Venetians as studiously ignored the absolution as they had ignored the ban. Consequences as unsatisfactory ensued from the negotiations of Alexander VII. (1655-67) with Louis XIV.; the French ambassador in Rome, afterwards the celebrated Duke de Cregni, a proud, irritable man, was insulted by the pope's Corsican guard,†

* Among the various ecclesiastics of high rank who were commanded by the Venetian government to ignore the interdict, was the papal grand vicar and archbishop of Padua. On receiving the message, he replied, "he as yet knew not if he could obey, but in any case he should act as God might direct." The government rejoined, "God commands all those to be hung by the neck that disobey the state." Then the archbishop came at once to a satisfactory decision.

† The popes always employed a foreign body guard, as they dared not trust their own subjects. Corsica and Switzerland generally supplied them.

and, not receiving immediate satisfaction, Louis at once drove away the papal nuncio from Paris, sequestered the province of Avignon, and despatched an army against Rome, with orders to seize the pope. But the pope's heart failed him. He humbled himself to the dust, and agreed to erect a commemorative column of penitence on the spot where the ambassador had been insulted. Still more hurtful were the effects of his successor, Innocent the Eleventh's quarrel with the Grande Monarque. Innocent refused to receive the French ambassador Lavardin, and further declared that the so-called "regal right," that is, the French king's claim on the revenues of vacant bishoprics, was a foul abuse, which ought at once to be abandoned. Exasperated beyond measure, King Louis summarily committed the papal nuncio to prison, and summoned a General Council of the clergy of France (1681) to investigate the limits of papal prerogative. A cruel blow ! For the four statutes, which so closely verged on the actual emancipation of the Gallician church, were framed by this council. The statutes declared, firstly, that the Pope's authority regarded spiritual things, but did not at all regard temporal matters ; that, secondly, he was subject to the superior judgment of councils and synods ; thirdly, that he never had, or could have, a right to absolve subjects from their allegiance ; finally, that he was in no manner infallible, since his decisions might be modified or rescinded by the voice of the general church. The pope was furious, the four statutes were burnt in Rome by the hand of the common hangman, but the fact remained notwithstanding ; and though the

Jesuits, aided by Madame de Maintenon, induced Louis in his old age to partially retract them, yet the French clergy never again fell into their earlier subjection.

Still the papacy sank lower and lower, despite every sacrifice made by the Jesuits in its cause. This very "sacrifice of all things" caused it more injury than good in the end; for its black-robed, soft-footed ministers, became at last so reckless, that an universal cry of indignation arose throughout Christendom against them. They had heaped infamy on infamy, crime on crime, until the temporal power was obliged to intervene for the eradication of the dangerous society, and by so doing gave a mortal wound to the papacy. The way was led by Portugal under the great minister, Pombal; then followed Naples, Genoa, Parma, and Malta. From France they had been already banished; and in 1768 were definitely driven from Alsace and the French Netherlands. Then came an unprecedented event,—Spain also declared against them; and in 1767 banished the order, for ever, from all and every of its territories. The Jesuits found no rest or peace but in the States of the Church, whither whole ship loads were dispatched; so that the reigning pope, Clement XIII. (1758-1769), could, after a time, scarce move for the crowd besetting him. His indignation was deeply aroused by these acts: he issued Bull after Bull, denouncing them; and besought the kings, with tears, to desist from this "sinful beginning." But neither tears nor curses availed the catholic governments; all ruthlessly decreed the dissolution of the Society of Jesus. France threatened, if the pope refused the apostolic sanction, to seize his person;

and the menace would assuredly have been realised, had he not opportunely died. The same demands were made on the next pope, the famous Cardinal Ganganelli, who took the title of Clement XIV. ; and on the 21st July, 1773, he dissolved the order "for ever, as mischievous and noxious." For the first time, wholesome daylight penetrated the Roman church ; and its reformation was simultaneously commenced, though that reformation left untouched the Vatican and its pretensions. The great emperor, Joseph II., justly placed at the head of royal reformers, led the movement ; but it was left for the French Revolution to place the seal of impotence upon the papacy. The wild republicans shrieked, "they would strangle the last king with the entrails of the last priest." They confiscated the property of the church, and finally carried off poor Pius VI., the successor of Ganganelli, from the pontifical States, and trampled both his temporal and spiritual crowns under foot. First dragged to Sienna, thence to Florence, and finally over the Alps, through snow and ice, without attendants or necessary care, to Valence on the Rhone, where, on the 29th of August, 1799, he gently sank to rest. The whole fortune left by him amounted but to fifty-six francs, and the authorities of Valence claimed it as national property. It seemed, indeed, as though the papacy had fallen for ever. Yet it was again to arise in renewed vigour, to struggle not only for fresh vantage ground of action, but to recover all that it had lost. We have to consider it under this changed aspect in a later chapter, and will close the present division of our subject with a couplet the Romans chanted with so much gusto :—

“Non abbiamo Pazienza,
Non vogliamo Eminenza,
Non vogliamo Santità—
Ma Eguaglianza è Libertá!”

“With Patience we’ve done,
Of Eminence we’ll none,
Of Holiness we would be free—
For Freedom and Equality.”

BOOK III.

POPE AND CHASTITY.

“ Wenn Bacchus und Ceres regieren,
So will Venus mit hoffiren ;
Denn wenn das Fleisch wird gemäst't
Mit Fressen und Saufen auf das Best,
So kommt alsbald angeritten
Der Teufel mit der Wollust Sitten,
Und sagt : man soll nach seinem Willen
Das Fleisches Lust büssen und stillen,
Sich nichts kehren um Ehe und Aegernuss
Und nichts um den Tod und die ew'ige Buss.”

Aus dem Buch von den Zehn Teufeln.

CHAPTER I.

FEMALE RULE IN ROME.—THEODORA, MAROZIA. POPE
JOAN LEGENDS.

DURING the first four or five centuries of our era, the bishops of Rome had married, like the majority of the Christian priesthood of their time, and but few examples of licentiousness then dishonoured St. Peter's throne. There were, of course, exceptions to this,—such as that exhibited by Bishop Damasus (366-384), who was not only described by his contemporaries as proud and arrogant, but his very deacons accused him of indulging his passions in defiance of the marriage vow. The pope was doubtless guilty, but the Emperor Gratianus feared the scandal, and refused to let the charge be investigated. Various other traditions, of a like nature, have come down to us; but on the whole, the early bishops of Rome were probably not worse than their contemporaries. With the fifth and sixth centuries commenced the papal system of celibacy among the dignitaries of the church; and thenceforth the Vatican was too frequently disgraced by the foulest excesses and licence by which humanity could be dishonoured.

The higher clergy had ceased to marry, because public opinion endowed the unwed priest with an aureole of peculiar purity ; but alas ! this purity would rarely have borne investigation. A few instances of married bishops of Rome still appeared, even to a much later date ; Hadrian II. (867-71), for example, had taken to wife a lady named Stefania, and a daughter by her had been born to him ; but when raised to the chair of St. Peter, he found himself compelled to put away wife and child ; and both were shortly afterwards definitely disposed of, doubtless to obviate any possibility of la Signora Stefania assuming pretensions as archbishopsess of Rome. Such pretensions could not have been tolerated, for the people devoutly believed in the sanctity of celibacy, and the Roman high priests dared not act counter to an opinion which might prove so useful to them.

Not long after the death of Hadrian II., a period of unbridled licence commenced for Rome and its great dignitaries. It was that included between 900 and 1050, and is generally known in ecclesiastical history as the Messalina Government, or the rule of the prostitutes. Both in Rome, and throughout central Italy, the feudal system had resulted in greatly enriching certain patrician families, who had secured the possession of numerous large domains. The heads of these families possessed, besides their fortresses in the country around, other fortified residences, called *torri* in Rome, within which a considerable troop of retainers could be quartered ; and the lord never crossed his threshold without a train, fully armed, at his heels. The more wealthy and powerful these families became, the more eagerly

they sought still greater wealth and power : and, as the natural result, mutual heart burnings and feuds were unceasing. These jealousies often led to open conflicts in the streets. The German emperors, with difficulties enough in their home affairs, were too weak to maintain order in Italy ; and thus a state of things ensued which too well illustrated —

“ The good old rule, the simple plan,—
Let him get who has the power ;
Let him keep, who can.”

The same condition of things prevailed throughout the peninsula as in Germany, during the so-called “ Faustrecht—right of the strong hand—Period.” The population of Rome was divided into parties, siding with this or that noble, whose retainers or partisans seldom met those of a rival faction without exchanging broken heads.

The counts of Tusculum, who, without doubt, were progenitors of the Colonnas, represented the most powerful family in the pontifical States : they had their seat at Tusculum, now Frascati,—the favourite resort of the rank and wealth of Rome in ancient times. Their castle was so well fortified, it was generally believed impregnable ;—a matter of no small advantage in such troublous times.

The counts of Tusculum were closely allied, both by blood and marriage, to the dukes of Spoleto and the counts of Tuscany ; and they gradually acquired an all-powerful influence in Roman affairs. In anno 900, partly through their individual influence, partly through that of the still more powerful counts of Tuscany, they

were beyond question the chief nobles of St. Peter's patrimony, and acknowledged no superior. At this time a lady, named Theodora, lived in Rome. She was as remarkable for her surpassing beauty, intellectual acquirements, and boundless ambition, as for her courage (which nothing daunted) and licentiousness, which, perhaps, had never been exceeded. She could not have been of plebeian origin, as she called herself *senatrix*, and had been unquestionably the wife of a senator, named Theophylactus. She adopted a mode of life, however, which, even in those days, might have outraged every feeling of decency; and educated her two daughters, Theodora and Marozia, who were not less beautiful, keen witted and aspiring, than herself, to follow in all things her example. These three women, who never shrank from the foulest infamy or crime, in attaining any object they had at heart, contrived, by their influence over the counts of Tusculum and Tuscany, to bring the whole patrimony of St. Peter under their sway; so that the papal throne for the next fifty years became the plaything of their caprice and their passions.

Scandals were perpetrated under the shadow of the tiara, which, for their very enormity, now might defy all credence. There was no abomination, no iniquity of which humanity could be guilty, which was not perpetrated by the popes during the first half of the tenth century. The famous apologist of the papacy, Baconius, thus describes the period:—"During this century there was a very abomination of desolation in the temple and sanctuary of the Lord. On the chair of St. Peter sat, not men, but monsters in the shape of men. Vainglo-

rious Messalinas filled with fleshly lusts, and cunning in all the forms of wickedness, governed in Rome, and prostituted the chair of St. Peter for their minions and paramours." Thus witnessed Baconius ; but he speaks with far too much moderation, for never since the doomed cities of the plain were swept from the face of the earth, had there been such things enacted as then in the capital of Christendom.

This reign of the prostitutes began under Pope Sergius III., who ascended the throne anno 904. He was a son of Count Benedict of Tusculum, and a lover of Marozia, then fourteen years of age. Marozia's mother possessed unbounded influence over the count of Tuscany, and to the assistance of the latter, who with Count Benedict stormed the castle of St. Angelo, whither the reigning pope, Leo V., had taken refuge, Sergius was indebted for his elevation. The allied counts at once transferred the castle to his keeping, and as it commanded the city, all opposition was at once quelled. Though Sergius owed his elevation to brute force, its validity was never contested, and he continued high priest of Christendom, though, in fact, his mistress and her mother Theodora actually wielded the papal sceptre. Devoting himself to the gratification of his passions, he only lived for the daily recurring orgies to which the walls of St. Angelo re-echoed. After his death, Marozia contrived to raise a mere unknown priest to the papal dignity, under the title of Anastasius II. Nothing is known of him, but that he was as handsome as he was licentious. He was succeeded in the spring of 914 by a certain Lando of Sabinum, a favourite of Theodora the

elder ; but Peter, archbishop of Ravenna, happening to send his deacon, Johannes, to congratulate the new pope, and the deacon being a marvellous comely, stalwart fellow, he found even greater favour in the matron's eyes than Lando himself. So the latter had to vanish from the stage after a reign of six months, and Theodora made the well-favoured deacon spiritual ruler of Christendom as Pope John X. It was this John who, with Count Beringar of Friaul, stormed a fortress erected by the Saracens on the Gangliano near Rome, and slew a great many of the enemy with his own hand. He was one of the mightiest men of war that ever held the keys of St. Peter, and could wield a sword as well as the most redoubtable knight adventurer of his age ; but we must not linger over his martial triumphs, our concern is with the dames who ruled through him. Marozia, whilst mistress of Pope Sergius, had borne him a son called John, but she at the same time carried on a liaison with Count Adalberto of Tuscany, to whom she also presented a son, who received the name of Alberico. These circumstances were notorious at Rome, but, notwithstanding, Guido, an elder son of the same Count Adalberto, did not scruple to marry this very Marozia, trusting, doubtless, to thus consolidate his influence in the papal city. Guido thus became stepfather to the young John (son of Sergius III.) and of Alberico, his own half-brother, both of whom were compelled to submit to his authority. Within a short period, the elder Theodora, patroness and paramour of the reigning pope, died, and Guido and his consort at once resolved, on being thus released from all further restraint, to remove this John

X. from their path, and so secure the free disposal of the apostolic throne. Guido quietly summoned his retainers one night, found his way, at their head, into St. Angelo, killing all who offered resistance, the brother of Pope John, who was to have become his own brother-in-law, among the number, and finally secured the person of the pope, though he defended himself with desperate bravery. Short shrift was afforded him; he was thrown into a dungeon, and suffocated with a pillow almost directly afterwards. Marozia was now supreme, and all Rome bowed to her will. By her tactics she soon made his consort almost absolute throughout the pontifical states, whilst his elder brother Hugo, count of Tuscany, was elected king of Lombardy and North Italy by the same occult influence.

The chair of St. Peter thus vacated had necessarily to be provided with an occupant, and Marozia caused a young priest, anno 928, to assume its honours under the name of Leo VI. He was, as we may readily conceive, a mere tool in her hands, but, probably, an inconvenient tool, for in a few weeks he was removed to make way for Stephen VI., who reigned from 929 to 931, when he also fell into disfavour with his patroness, and promptly sank from the throne to the grave. She then elevated her own son by Sergius, a youth then twenty years of age, to the pontifical dignity, as John XI. He retained it for five years, though but nominally, for his mother governed in his name. She, in the mean time, grew enamoured of her husband's brother, the king of Lombardy, who, returning her passion, they agreed she should poison Count Guido to facilitate

their own speedy union. The plan was carried out in anno 931, and Hugo, by this marriage, found himself supreme master of Rome, and enabled to indulge in almost oriental despotism over it. Great was the discontent he aroused in the city, especially amongst the oppressed families of the aristocracy. Alberico, son of Marozia and Count Adalbert of Tuscany, was not less tyrannically treated by Hugo (though his own half-brother) than the rest, and he finally resolved to break the yoke and overthrow his mother and her consort. His aunt Theodora, daughter of the elder Theodora and Pope John X., but with whom he had lived on terms of the closest intimacy, encouraged him in his resolve; and thus when one day King Hugo commanded him to fetch some water, and he exhibited an evident disinclination to obey, the king striking him on the face for the disobedience, his mistress, Theodora, who found her own mastery of Rome from the event, so worked on his resentment that he joined the faction of the malcontents that very night, and openly raised the standard of rebellion. Half the population of the capital enlisted on his side, and, though his followers were ill armed, he yet succeeded in taking the St. Angelo. King Hugo with great difficulty escaped over the walls, but Marozia and her son the pope were taken, and thrown into prison. These events happened in March, 933, and from that date, for the next twenty-one years, Alberico reigned absolute in Rome and its dependencies, though, of course, under the necessity of setting up phantom popes, in whose name his decrees were issued. The first of these was his own half-brother, John XI., who, im-

prisoned, as we have seen, never after left his place of confinement until relieved by death in 936. Marozia had been poisoned long before. Alberico then appointed Stephen VIII., but, purely in the plenitude of his own authority, without even affecting to consult either the people or priesthood. Stephen died in 942. Then followed Martin II., who, in 946, made way for Agapet II. All three "vicars of Christ" had no shadow of volition in state affairs permitted them by their master, who entitled himself "Princeps, atque omnium Romanorum senator" (Prince and senator of all the Romans). Agapet II. was thus obliged to excommunicate and declare war against King Hugo, who, since his escape from Rome, in 933, had ceaselessly carried on hostilities against Alberico. Hugo paid no regard to the anathema, but continued to prosecute the war; and not until his rival had secured the co-operation of Beringar, count of Friaul, was he ultimately overcome. It must be granted, to the honour of Alberico, that he used his victory well, devoted his best endeavours thenceforth to bring some degree of public order out of the universal anarchy into which the family feuds of the great nobles had plunged the territories beneath his sway.

As Agapet II. was still in the full vigour of youth when raised to St. Peter's Chair, it might have been anticipated he would employ the opportunity offered by the death of his patron, to secure the reality of the power he represented. But, like his two predecessors, he had grown so accustomed to the yoke, he was incapable of using freedom, even when within his grasp. Moreover, no other occupation for the hours unrequired

by his spiritual functions, had he ever known, than drinking, gaming, and still more flagrant vices. Thus, the eldest son of Aberico and Theodora, a lad of eighteen, found little difficulty in obtaining possession of the Castle of St. Angelo, and so found himself master of Rome, and the apostolic see. He at once inducted himself into the latter as Pope John XII., and it were no exaggeration to say, he proved, perhaps, the most despicable and debauched wretch that then polluted God's earth.

Not even by Sergius III. had the apostolic chair been so dishonoured as by this son of Theodora. During his reign the papal palace became a vast seraglio; the churches of Rome were given up to mummers and dancers. In place of religious worship, public festivities were held in them; whilst they re-echoed to obscene songs and bacchanal choruses. Two of his own sisters were included among his recognised mistresses; and if any woman dared resist his desires, it was but to incur still greater outrage. His own mother had been obliged to submit to his bestial appetite, and another of his father's lemans was numbered among his own. His table was a daily orgie, where he toasted Dame Venus and the devil by turns; concluding, when the freak so took him, by sallying into the streets, at the head of his wild companions, to make a bacchanal procession through Rome. He was a mighty hunter, kept a stud of two thousand horses, who were fed on almonds and figs, steeped in wine. His capitol became a very scandal to the Christian world; and when Baronius declared John XII. was "*fere omnium deterrimus*," ("verily,

the worst of all"), the reader may well conclude what was the opinion entertained of him by the great apologist of the papacy, and how completely the very climax of political and moral infamy was exhibited by Rome under his pontificate. Then it happened, that Kaiser Otho I., learning the true state of affairs, crossed the Alps, resolved to reduce Italy once more under German suzerainty. He besieged Count Beringar II. of Friaul, and Ivrea, the most powerful of the princes of North Italy, and marched triumphantly to Rome, where he was crowned by John XII., who meekly bowed down at the conqueror's feet.

Otho was not then aware of the innate worthlessness of the pope, and was disposed to pardon his excesses in consideration of his youth; but no sooner had the Germans left, than John, in defiance of his oath of fealty, attached himself to the faction of Beringar, and plunged Rome into the old disorders. Then the kaiser once more descended into Italy (anno 963), and the pope having as effectually plundered the treasures contained in St. Peter's as his haste allowed, made good his escape to the south of the peninsula. He still omitted not to beseech Otho's mercy; but the emperor had little inclination to exhibit a profitless clemency, and at once called a synod to investigate the pope's acts. The synod was very numerously attended; it included nearly all the bishops of Italy, many from Germany, besides sixteen cardinals. John had every chance of a fair trial, free from national prejudices; but such damning facts came to light during the investigations, both in the evidence furnished by the cardinals, and in

that of the lay witnesses, that even we, at this distance of time, shudder as we read the recital.

John was deposed, and Leo VIII. set up in his stead. Rome was restored to quiet, and the emperor retraced his steps to Germany. Scarcely had he done so, when the partisans of John, the pleasure-loving dames of Rome, and the deposed pontiff's numerous kindred among the higher families, succeeded in fomenting an insurrection, by which he soon found the means of repossessing himself of the throne of St. Peter. Leo VIII. was obliged to fly, and happily effected his escape in safety. Some of his adherents were less fortunate; for example, Otgar, bishop of Spire, whom John caused to be scourged to death, whilst the Cardinals Johannes and Azo, were frightfully mutilated, the nose, hands, and tongue of each cut off. But these iniquities were among his last; he was soon afterwards killed by a Roman, who discovered his wife in the arms of the Holy Father. So died John XII. at scarce twenty-five years of age, a type of papal debauchery.

Now followed a long string of popes in quick succession, of whom it need only be said they emulated their predecessors, Sergius and John, with more or less success. Though Kaiser Otho, after John's death, had again visited Rome, and appointed his successor, a man devoted to the imperial interests, the power of the Tusculum faction, which had constantly nominated the popes since anno 904, was still in the ascendant; indeed, the counts of Tusculum continued, with rare exceptions, to appoint the succeeding pontiffs, during the whole of the latter part of the tenth, and the first half

of the eleventh century; and those who occupied the papal throne for any lengthened period, were all not only partisans of their house, but connected with it by consanguinity. This we see in the case of Benedict VI., elected in 972 by imperial influence, on the decease of John XIII.; for scarcely had the Emperor Otho been gathered to his fathers, than the Roman noble, Crecentius, a son of Marozia and Pope John X., took the St. Angelo by storm, at the head of the Tuscan faction, seized Benedict VI., and caused him to be immediately afterwards strangled in prison, appointing Cardinal Franconi to be the vicegerent of heaven. Franconi became Benedict VII., and is called by Gerbert the pious historian of the church, the "most iniquitous of all the monsters of ungodliness."

Obliged at length to quit Italy, to escape the vengeance of the relatives of a young girl he had dishonoured, he secured all the chief treasures contained in the churches of Rome, and took flight with his booty to Constantinople. The Tusculum party, still supreme at Rome, immediately placed a nephew of the infamous John XII. in St. Peter's chair, under the title of Benedict VII.; but Kaiser Otho II. marched over the Alps at the head of an army, and Benedict having taken flight, set up a pope in the imperial interests, called John XIV., previously known as Petrus, bishop of Pavia. This occurred in 983; but the emperor did not survive more than a few months, when Benedict returned to Rome, and by the aid of Crecentius seized the person of his rival, whom he shortly afterwards poisoned. The victor did not long enjoy his triumph, meeting death the following year in

much the same way as John XII. Such a death spares us the task of dwelling at greater length on the character of his life. We may add, however, that so bitterly had his misdeeds incensed the Romans against him, that having seized his body, they wreaked their vengeance on it by a hundred dagger wounds, then, after trailing it through the streets, finally flung it into a cesspool.

John XV. (985-996), a minion of the Tusculum faction, succeeded; but at his death, and the entrance of Otho III. into Italy, the partisans of Germany, or rather the opponents of the counts of Tusculum, gained the upper hand at Rome, and nominated each successive pope from 996 to 1012. These popes seem to have lived with greater regard to decency; for one weighty argument in their favour is, that very little is related of them. After 1012, the German party again declined in influence; indeed, Benedict IX., who reigned from 1012 to 1024, was a son of Count Gregory of Tusculum. We hear little of his licentiousness, but much of the cruelty with which he persecuted the Jews of Rome, whom he burnt by dozens as sorcerers. Popular superstition has denied him rest in the grave; and thousands of the lower class of Romans believe to this day that his ghost, coal black as the coal black horse it rides, traverses the Ghetto on each Good Friday night. At his death, his brother, Count de Toscanello, who assumed the name of John XVI., secured the vacant tiara. Though a layman, his well-employed numismatic arguments proved so convincing, that priests, nobles and people, alike willingly recognised his self election. Except this preliminary example of simony (to obtain an ecclesiastical office

by bribery was then a capital offence), little is known of him. But so much the more notorious was his successor, Benedict IX. (1033-1046): he had been but ten years old at his nomination, but he was a son of Count Alberico, the brother of the two preceding popes, and the last scion of his house. His kinsmen, by their wealth and political importance, had long regarded the papal throne as a part of their appanage. The fear their power inspired might well foster this view; and they actually had the boy crowned pope. The world beheld the strange spectacle of a child made chief lawgiver and ruler of the church. But, despite his extreme youth, all witnesses agree, no bishop of Rome ever distinguished himself by greater abuse of his office. By his fourteenth year, he surpassed, in profligacy and extravagance, all who had preceded him. So great was the public indignation excited by his conduct, that, on the tenth year of his pontificate, the party opposed to that of Tusculum, though numerically much the weaker of the two, succeeded in driving the wretched boy from Rome, and elected Sylvester III., a bishop of Sabine, in his place. The young Benedict had had great wealth and many partisans, however, and, aided by the influence of his family, succeeded in re-taking St. Angelo. But, after thrice being driven from his capital, and thrice returning, he at length felt a longer tenure of power impracticable; and on May 1, 1045, disposed of his titles for a very handsome consideration to a certain Giovanni Gratianus, who thus became the Pope Gregory VI., of whom we have spoken in a previous chapter. Benedict retained, however, a considerable portion of the papal revenues, as well as the

Lateran palace, where he hoped to indulge his vices in undisturbed privacy.

With him, the supremacy of the lords of Tusculum expired; and with him, too, passed away the scandalous prostitution of the chief dignity in the church to the caprice of courtesans and their paramours.

How the contemporary world regarded the conduct of these popes, may be gathered from the fact, that a universal belief had arisen that: "with such monstrous iniquity in the permanent head of the church, the longer existence of mankind had become impossible; and therefore the end of the world must be approaching." This belief took such firm hold of men's minds, that many documents of the time are prefaced with the words, "*Approximanti fine mundi.*" Men could not but fear the wrath of God must be at length awakened, and that He would smite the offenders with His sword of fire. Not until the year one thousand had passed, did the dread of the advent of antichrist disappear.

Before closing this chapter, we must touch on a legend of which the reader has, doubtless, often vaguely heard. We mean that famous one concerning a Pope Joan, or Johanna.

About the middle of the ninth century, so runs the tradition, a German maiden called Johanna (some chronicles declare her of English extraction) left home with her lover, a young student, and proceeded with him to the university of Paris. To avoid exciting scandal, she dressed in masculine attire, and shared her lover's studies; so that the two were commonly known as the "inseparables." From Paris they went to Athens, probably to study Greek, and thence made a pilgrimage to the tomb

of St. Peter at Rome. Finding many attractions in the pontifical city, they determined to remain some time within it. Their learning, modesty, good manners, and good looks, soon procured them many friends; and in a short period both received ecclesiastical appointments. Johanna, who of course was known only as frater Johannes, became especially distinguished, and rose in the hierarchy step by step; until at length, on the death of Leo IV., she was raised to the papal throne as John VIII., and wielded her new powers with credit and dignity, in emulation of the more virtuous of her predecessors. Unhappily, Johanna and her lover had not abandoned their former intimacy; and thus it happened, that in the second year of her pontificate she found herself about to become a mother. The fact could without difficulty have been concealed; but an angel appeared to her, saying:—"Johanna, heavily hast thou sinned; and if thou dost not abase thyself before the world, by bringing forth thy child in the sight of the people, thou shalt be damned everlastingly."

These words terrified Johanna greatly, who was very pious, despite her shortcomings, and she did not long hesitate in her resolve. "Therefore" (so says Polonus, a Lutheran historian of the papacy), "when her hour had drawn nigh, she ordained a procession, taking her place at its head, dressed in full pontificals; and then, in the streets of Rome, between the Coliseum and the church of St. Clement's, she brought forth a son. The people were paralysed with horror; and Johanna expired of shame on the spot.*

* So runs a tradition, which for three hundred years was believed,

The first doubts of the story arose with the Renaissance, and, to the credit of the Protestant writers it must be admitted, they have done most to dispel the fable. Their investigations proved that not a single author of the ninth century refers to the story; that, moreover, Benedict III. was raised to the papal throne in 855, and thus between him and the previous pope, Leo IV., who died in 855, there was, of course, no possibility of a two years' pontificate. In fact, that the whole story was a satire on the times of Theodora and Marozia, for both sisters were installed in St. Angelo, and according the papal dignity to none but their lovers or minions, with perfect justice might have been called she popes.

without the slightest misgivings. It was even accepted at the court of Rome, where learned doctors demonstrated the goodness of God, in maintaining the unity of the church, even under a woman's rule. So complete was the credence accorded to the romance, that a monument was erected to its heroine in the cathedral of Vienne, whilst in that of Bologna her bust was placed in the series of popes exhibited there. Old books are still extant, in which the final scene of her life is represented in engravings.

CHAPTER II.

THE AVIGNON RULE.

THE obloquy brought on the papacy by the period which has occupied us during the last chapter, was too deep to be speedily removed, and, indeed, we may well question if any reform of its licentiousness was effected until much later ages. We need but turn to the evidence given before the English parliament under Henry III., when Innocent IV., having become a fugitive from the wrath of Kaiser Frederick II., sought the protection of the Plantagenet monarch. "The honour of England," so ran the answer of the members, "hath long been sullied by the avarice, robbery, and trafficking in church benefices, practised by papal legates; now, forsooth, the pope himself would come and squander the possessions of our nation and church. But we are not minded to suffer this, for the papal court doth spread so foul and noisome a stench, that he (Innocent) deserveth not to find welcome in England." So said the peers of England, and thereupon Innocent, instead of going whither he had hoped, made his way with his whole court to Lyons. What were the results to the French city of this emigration? The best answer to this question is

given in the infamous letters sent by Cardinal Hugo to the Lyonese after the exodus of the papal court on the death of Frederick II. of Hohenstaufen in 1250. The cardinal says, among other amenities:—"During our residence in your city (we translate his words literally) we have been of very charitable assistance to you. On our arrival we found scarcely so many as three or four purchaseable sisters of love, whilst at our departure we leave you, so to say, a brothel, which extendeth through the city from the western to the eastern gate."* Surely, no more conclusive evidence can be needed, nor must the reader suppose the licentiousness of the papal court was confined to the cardinals and higher dignitaries to the exclusion of the popes. Innocent IV. added his full quota to the sum of iniquity; one of his bastards, indeed, under the name of Hadrian V., succeeded to his throne anno 1276. Pope Gregory X. (1271-76) showed, it seems, some greater regard for decency, for the chroniclers say that he dispossessed the bishop Henry of Luttich for the scandal the multitude of his children occasioned; they numbered sixty-three, and had been presented to him by his numerous concubines, among whom were not a few nuns. The Flemish knight who killed the said bishop for seducing his daughter, was not even excommunicated.

Pope Nicholas III. (1277) was truer to the traditions of his office; he had a great many kinsfolk, and took good care to provide for them with the best gifts offered by the church. Two "nephews" (the world persisted they were his sons) he resolved on raising to sovereign

* See Raumer's "Geschichte der Hohenstaufen."

power; the one to be duke of Tuscany, the other king of Lombardy: and he would, doubtless, have succeeded had not his plans been stayed by death. His successor, Clement IV., afforded no exception to the traditions of licentiousness recorded of the preceding popes. He exhibited, however, no inclination to squander the lands and treasure in his charge upon his bastards. We are told he had two daughters; the younger entered a convent, the elder married. To the latter he gave three hundred crowns, to the former only one hundred, declaring money was unnecessary for counting beads. Boniface VIII. was of a very different type. We have already learnt something of him as the founder of the Jubilee. This most arrogant of all the popes was as notorious for his insane profuseness as for his unbridled licence. He declared the seventh Commandment was not canonically binding, or God would not have created two sexes. By way of illustrating his doctrines, a married lady and her daughter were simultaneously his mistresses.

Yet these scandals dwindle into insignificance when compared with the riot of the papal court at Avignon. We have already seen the cause of the emigration thither, but the lovely Perigord, daughter of the Count de Foix, was the chief cause that Clement remained in France.

The life of the papal court at its new capital has been so fully described by the contemporary writers Baluzius and Mezeray, by Petrarch, and the famous Clemengis, that we need add nothing to their testimony. Clemengis

declares, "foul morals, debauchery, and licence first crept among the people of France from the days of the popes; the French people gathered as the harvest sown by the apostolic chair, a love of pomp, luxury, and extravagance; besides, to all these we must add the national crime of Italy, the concoction of deadly drugs. Such are the blessings brought by the Holy Fathers; blessing nowhere better shown than in holy Rome itself, the world's sink of iniquity." Still more emphatic are the poet Petrarch's words:—"All that hath been related of Babylon is as nothing compared to Avignon: there we may see realised all that ancient legends and poems tell of the lewdness and monstrous fornications of the heathen gods. We may there behold a Pasiphæ, a Mars and Venus bound in golden chains; Salomo with his garden of delight, his luxury, and his thousand concubines. The followers of St. Peter carry themselves in silk and gold; godliness and faith are not in fashion within their gorgeous palaces, but instead, profligacy, riot, and unholy pleasures; whilst he who is vilest, basest, most besotted with vice, is the most honoured there."

As soon as the popes had determined to remain in Avignon, they set about arranging their residence in right royal wise. At first, as there was no palace at their disposition, Clement was obliged to live in a Dominican convent, but he soon after commenced building the vast edifice which still looms over the city like an ill-omened spectre. It is, in fact, less a single palace than an incongruous agglomeration of many edifices, with trenches, walls, oubliettes, dark cells, and secret subterranean passages, combined into a great fortress. A feel-

ing of indescribable oppression falls on us as we enter its gloomy precincts; the very massiveness of its masonry has something menacing in it. A residence indeed, it is of no type St. Peter the fisherman would have chosen, but rather a royal fastness, gloomy and forbidding, as such places were wont to be in days when war constituted the chief business of men's lives. Within these walls once dwelt the popes, not, indeed, as pen-sive bookmen poring over black-lettered scrolls, still less as penance-worn priests seeking to merit heaven by self-mortification on earth. But they dwelt there as the mighty ones of the world amid revelry and gay festivals, robed in purple and fine linen, surrounded by fair women, with singing, dancing, love-making, in one continuous round of voluptuous pleasure. Seven popes, in all, ruled at Avignon, and each seemed bent on exceeding his predecessor in licentiousness, greed, and despotism. The Avignon age seems to have reached its zenith under Clement VI. (1342-52); of the two previous Avignon popes, John XXII. had been remarkable for little else than his love of gold, and Benedict XII. for his love of women and wine; from him dates the favourite proverb, "bibere papaliter" (drink like a pope). Among the inmates of his harem was a sister of Francisco Petrarch, who had refused the pope's solicitations regarding her, though supported by the offer of a cardinal's hat. Her other brother, Gerardo, proved less scrupulous, and, in exchange for a heavy purse, delivered her over to His Holiness.

Within Clement VI.'s hospitable walls were gathered poets and painters, men of science, pale, vigil-worn

scholars; but still more welcome guests were those bright-eyed dames, the grace and beauty of the southern provinces of France.

Ladies, far fairer than their reputations, knights'-errant, sprightly cardinals, wrinkled philosophers, nobles of the purest lineage, and jovial monks with shaven crowns, jostled each other on their way to the apostolic presence. His weekly festivals were famous alike for their splendour, profusion, and elegant voluptuousness, and received the distinguishing appellation of the "Clementine." On such occasions it might have seemed, not a pope, but rather Aphrodite, goddess of love and beauty, held court at Avignon; nor would such a supposition have been wholly wrong, for the queen of the festivities was the lovely countess de Turenne, whose charms for many years made the head of Christendom her humblest slave. In short, Clement had a full portion of human frailties; and well might Petrarch declare "the court, ruled by him, was a labyrinth of Minos, where the Minotaur cried with fierce impatience for ever new victims, and Venus was alone adored." No wonder that those beyond the contamination of Avignon, held matron or maiden alike dishonoured by entering the gates of the city, where, indeed, the very nunneries were regarded as privileged brothels, or that Clement, when sitting in full consistory one day, had a letter placed in his hand, superscribed, "From the Devil to his brother Clement;" which, after recapitulating all the scandalous acts of the princes of the church, and their head, recommended: "Our brother, the pope, and Messieurs les cardinales," to persevere in their work, and with a

"loving greeting and shake of the hand," closed with—"Thy sisters, Greed and Debauchery, thy brethren, Atheism and Deceit, send this salutation given from the midst of hell, in the presence of the whole company of devils." Clement and his cardinals laughed over the letter, which they regarded as an excellent joke. It had been written either by Petrarch, or the archbishop of Milan.

The best illustration of the life of the Avignon popes, is furnished by the story Boccaccio recounts of the Marseillaise Jew. This Jew was a very wealthy merchant, and enjoyed the friendship and respect of many of his Christian fellow citizens. It came to pass that he fell very sick on one occasion, and then his Christian friends visited him with the greatest assiduity, hoping to achieve his conversion. They succeeded so far, that he promised, if he recovered, to studiously investigate the questions at issue between Judaism and Christianity. In a short time he was happily restored to health, and then when reminded of his promise, declared himself prepared to go at once to Avignon, and study the new faith at the feet of Christ's own vicerent. This alarmed his friends beyond measure; for they knew any result might be expected from such a course rather than his conversion. They endeavoured to discourage him by every imaginable argument, represented that there were learned doctors and clerks at Marseilles, fully versed in all the mysteries of the Christian dogmas; but all in vain, he turned a deaf ear to their voices, and verily one day took his departure for the papal residence. Then his friends lost all hope he would ever become a Christian, and felt sore ashamed when they

bethought them of all the abominations he must there witness, whilst he would surely suppose them to have counselled him to a change, in which external forms were alone concerned. With heavy hearts they awaited his return; but, lo! the event fell out quite diverse to their expectations.

Many months was the Jew absent; he then reappeared; but had scarcely left the ship which brought him to Marseilles, than he called his friends together, and declared his resolution to become a Christian! nay, insisting they should conduct him at once to a church, where the holy rites of baptism were indeed forthwith performed by a priest. Much did his friends marvel at these things, for they could nowise understand wherefore he adopted the faith; yet they discreetly refrained from any questions until after he had been baptised. Then in the evening of the same day they all went to see their new brother, and no longer able to restrain their curiosity, demanded, "how it happened that his visit to Avignon had not filled him with loathing for Christianity?" I will unfold this to ye, replied he who had been a Jew. In Avignon, truly, I found all abominations and vices united. The nuns there are what we should call strumpets, the monks as vile as the nuns. The cardinals, yea, the pope himself, though he be called the vicegerent of Christ, are exceeded by none in Europe for evil living, and the outrage of God's laws. The papal palace is a very cesspool of abominations, that might well call for a new deluge to sweep it from the face of the earth. I turned from all I saw with a sickening at my heart; but then, involuntarily the

thought arose within me, how great, how sublime and holy must be the teaching of Christ, since it is not only undestroyed, but continueth spreading ever wider and wider, though its chief priests and great dignitaries are sunken in iniquity, and might rather be called children of the pit than children of heaven. Therefore I took counsel with my soul, and became a Christian.

CHAPTER III.

ALEXANDER VI. AND LUCRETIA BORGIA.

WITH Gregory XII. (1370-78) the papacy was reinstated at Rome, but the popes did not, therefore, become more exemplary or moral. From thenceforth commenced a period of more studied licentiousness, until the vices and crimes which had before sullied the tiara assumed a character at which the first instincts of nature might revolt. We shall glance as briefly as possible at the lives of those popes who occupied the interval between 1378 and 1492, that we may have greater space for the Borgia pontiff.

Urban VI. (1378-89) was so pitiful a wretch, so utterly demoralised, his very cardinals debated whether it would not be better to declare him mad and appoint a regency, or even decree his deposition on the ground of his unworthiness. Unfortunately, the pope was too quick for the reverend conspirators. He got intelligence of their proposal, and immediately had six of the number seized, and daily submitted to the rack, until but one, for whom Richard II. of England interceded, was left alive. He shielded his favourite son Prignano, who violated a nun, from all punishment, and for his gratifi-

cation, with the aid of Charles of Durazzo, deposed, and afterwards murdered Queen Johanna of Naples, who had refused to marry and share her crown with the Holy Father's bastard. He yet failed even by this crime to secure her kingdom, and Prignano had to content himself with the principality already given him by Charles III. Ultimate success might still have rewarded the pope's schemes, but they were all frustrated by his death, which occurred in 1393. He passed away, says a contemporary, despised by all men.

Alexander V. (1409), who only reigned a few months, the famous papal biographer and private secretary, Clemengis declares, "*Lubentur bene et laute vivebat, bibendo vina forte et frequente*" ("He lived a jocund, pleasant life, drinking strong wines right plentifully and often"). John XXIII.* (1410-17) when a mere lad, was notorious for his debauchery, lies, and deceit. As Balthazar Cossa, when attending the University of Bologna, the orgies celebrated by him and his chosen associates soon rendered his name notorious, and after a time he was forced to fly the city under fear of imprisonment for some of his misdeeds. Then, with a band of confederates, he made his way into Dalmatia, and turned pirate, but the vessel he commanded presently being taken by a Neapolitan, it was with the greatest difficulty he escaped the gallows on which all his followers expiated their offences. He then entered the priesthood, prospered, soon contrived to purchase a cardinal's hat of

* His original name was Balthazar Cossa, and, according to Clemengis ("*Vota Emendationis*"), the "vilest wretch that could be found on God's earth."

Pope Boniface IX., who shortly afterwards charged him with the duty of bringing the rebellious city of Bologna to submission. Cossa successfully accomplished this ; but, after offering a free pardon to all the inhabitants, subjected them to outrages and oppression scarce ever equalled. Every class of society was plundered by him : he mulcted the very prostitutes, and had a thousand of the wealthiest citizens put to death, in order to obtain their property. Nuns, maidens, and matrons were all alike made the victims of his lust ; we hear of two hundred violated by him. Then, when his passions had been fully sated in Bologna, the new cardinal returned to Rome, and commenced a manner of life which is sufficiently characterised for us by the fact that his brother's wife was his avowed mistress. He became an adept in poisoning ; invented a peculiar poison with which he could quietly remove all who made themselves obnoxious to him—Pope Alexander V., his immediate predecessor, among the number. After Cossa's elevation to the tiara, a new field of activity presented itself, and in this he was soon completely engrossed. Simony became his favourite vice, and every office in the gift of the apostolic see was sold to the highest bidder, or bestowed on the pope's illegitimate sons, and the church plundered of everything which could be turned into hard coin.*

* The Fathers of the Church met in council at Constance to consider his conduct, when it was proved, upon irrefragable evidence, he had not only been guilty of adultery, incest, sodomy, murder, and robbery, but that during his residence at Bologna he had kept a *seraglio* numbering two hundred women, besides the three hundred nuns, whose complacency he had subsequently rewarded by making them abbesses, prior-

No marvel the public accuser closed the seventy various accusations against the pope with, "He cannot be regarded other than as the foe of every virtue and the sink of every iniquity; a scandal of scandals, so that all who know him declare him even like to an incarnate devil."*

Pope Pius II. (1458-64) had been much more famous as Cardinal Æneas Sylvius than subsequently, when raised to the papal throne. He had seduced an English girl in his youth at Strasburg, and continued in correspondence with the son she bore him. In one of these letters His Holiness says, "My body hath quite dried up, and my powers begin to abandon me. I loathe Aphrodite, but therefore the more devoutly yield myself to Bacchus. My chastity merits little praise in this, for, alas! it is not I that abandon the goddess, but she me." No very exemplary sentiments in a pope. After Pius II. the tiara passed to Paul II. (1464-71), of whom Weber says, "He should rather have called himself Formosus (the Handsome) than Paulus (the Little)." He

esses, &c. The witnesses heard against Pope John included cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, besides many laymen.

* Some of the higher prelates, the archbishop of Mayence, for example, undertook John's defence, whilst others declared he merited the stake and faggot. The sentence against him was not very severe; it was deposition and imprisonment for life; but after spending a few months in the fortress called "Amor di Dio, then twelve at Heidelberg in milder captivity, and, finally, two years in close confinement at Manheim; he finally purchased his freedom for 30,000 ducats, and at once proceeded with Pope Martin V. to Florence. Martin appointed him cardinal bishop of Tusculum, and, out of respect for his former dignity, ordained he should always sit on the right hand of the throne in consistory, and on a higher chair than the other cardinals. Such was the retribution for his crimes.

never appeared but with his cheeks painted, and indulged in more jewels, gold, and embroidery than any previous bishop of Rome. In mockery he was called "Our dear lady of Pitifulness," from his power of summoning tears on the smallest occasion; indeed, tears are said to have constantly risen to his eyes when they rested on his beautiful daughter for envy of her future husband. Sixtus IV. (1471-83) had so inordinate an affection for his two natural sons, that it finally involved him in very heavy crimes. He bought for the elder, Girolamo, the province of Imola from the duke of Milan, and hoped to secure Florence also for him. Lorenzo and Giulio Medici then governed the republic; but, for the success of the pope's scheme, it was necessary to remove both brothers from their office as chief patricians, or, still better, despatch them to another world. The Medici had many rivals and enemies at Florence, especially in the families of the Pazzi and Salviati, who only waited a favourable moment to achieve their destruction. The pope, well instructed of this, invited Francesco, the head of the Pazzi, to a private interview. Pazzi obeyed, came to an understanding with His Holiness, and returned to Florence to arrange the destruction of the Medici with the archbishop Salviati, the priest Stefano, and a few bold adventurers, such as Blandini and Baptista Montefecco, ready for villany of any kind that was paid with good coin. It was known the two brothers would attend mass in the church of St. Nogarata on the 24th of April, 1478, and it was therefore determined to fall upon and kill them at the very moment the priest offered the

consecrated wafer, for then all the rest of the congregation would be kneeling, and consequently there was little danger of a successful rescue being attempted. The appointed Sunday came, the conspirators were gathered in the church. Blandini and Francesco dei Pazzi fell upon Giulio, the priest Stefano and Montefecco upon Lorenzo. Giulio was killed on the spot; Lorenzo, although severely wounded, escaped from his assailants into the street, and thence to his palace. Indignant at the murderous attempt, the congregation fell on the assassins, who tried to get out in the confusion, but only one of them, Blandini, succeeded, and he was subsequently given up by the Sultan Badjazet, in whose dominions he sought refuge. Pazzi, Montefecco, the archbishop, and Father Stefano were taken in the act, and summarily hung from the church windows. The pope had egregiously failed : he was beside himself with rage, and at once laid Lorenzo and the city of Florence under the interdict, and then, in conjunction with King Ferdinand of Naples, whose daughter one of his sons had married, declared war against the republic. But war proved alike abortive; for Ferdinand, at a personal interview obtained by Lorenzo, was persuaded to break his alliance with the pope, and the latter found himself forced to sue for peace, anno 1480, and renounce all hope of subduing Florence. He then tried to raise his son to the dukedom of Ferrara; to this effect concluding a treaty with the Venetians in 1481, who engaged to furnish him with aid against the reigning prince Ercole I. War was declared against Ercole, and Girolamo, who in

the meantime had been made a cardinal, placed himself at the head of the papal-Venetian forces. This campaign was fated to end much as the previous one, for Ercole having married a daughter of the king of Naples, and was, therefore, supported by him, contrived, in 1484, by his mediation to make a separate peace with the Venetians. The pope, again defeated, was obliged to renounce the hope of making his eldest born a sovereign prince of Italy; finally, however, he negotiated the purchase for him of the provinces of Imola and Forl, which produced a revenue of fifty thousand scudi.

It were unjust to imagine Sixtus IV. gave all his care to Girolamo; his whole family shared his affectionate solicitude. Pietro Riario, born to the pope by his own sister, was raised by him to the cardinalate, and endowed with such profitable benefices, that he did not draw less than a hundred thousand ducats from them annually. A third son, named Raphael, when only seventeen years of age, was invested with a cardinal's hat, and the "patrimonium" provinces of Sora and Sinegaglia. The pope's nephews, Giulio, Giovanni, and Leonardo, were all made cardinals, and six other relatives of the much-tried chief shepherd of Christendom, received the same honour. He married all his nieces to men of high rank, and dowered them as be seemed so mighty a potentate. No little money might well be necessary to carry out these arrangements; but a pope who allied himself with bandits to carry out his political schemes, would not be over nice in his methods for achieving any financial measure. He was the first pope

who publicly licensed brothels in Rome; he did so in consideration of the thirty thousand ducats they yearly brought him.*

A worthy successor followed Sixtus in Innocent VIII. (1484-1492); he had no less than sixteen recognised illegitimate children,† of whom he exhibited no little paternal pride. His favourite, a certain Franceschetto, was one of these, and to provide him with land and lieges, Girolamo Riario, the son of the last pope, and possessor of Imola and Forla, had suddenly to depart this life, the 14th of April, 1486. Innocent trusted, after the murder, to transfer the cities without difficulty, and not only incited the Forlians to rise against their ruler, but provided them with a considerable armed force for the purpose. But though Girolamo was killed, his son Octavio, and his widow, the famous Catarina Sforza, who was as lovely and able, as she was courageous and energetic, had survived, and she mustering her adherents, completely routed the papal troops. Catherine even captured six of the enemy's generals, and had them at once put to death, finally obliging the Forlians to lay down their arms, acknowledge her son as his father's heir, and herself as regent during his minority.

* For further particulars of this notorious pope, see "*Il diario della Citta di Roma scritto da S. Infessurá,*" and Muratori "*Scriptores rerum ital.*" Tom. iii. pars. ii.

† Vespucci, a contemporary of Innocent VIII., declares in a letter to Lorenzo di Medici, still extant, that there were but seven: which is also maintained by Infessura; several other writers, on the contrary, assert the number was actually sixteen; and the poet Marullus sings,

"Octo nocens pueros genuit totidemque puellas.

Hunc merite poterit dicere Roma patrem."

The scheme of papal nepotism failed miserably ; but Innocent did not lose the hope of obtaining a principality for his "Franceschetto," and forthwith attacked the redoubtable Boccolino de Gozzoni, lord of the city and province of Osimo. Boccolino defended himself bravely, and the attacking forces, though commanded by the renowned Milanese, Trivulzio, lay twelve months before his capital without reducing it. The citizens even then would not have yielded, but for the interposition of Lorenzo di Medici, who induced the easy tempered Boccolino to give up his dignities for eight thousand ducats in ready money. Thus the pope, or rather "Franceschetto," obtained Osimo, and in November of the same year 1487, the long contemplated union between the papal bastard, and the daughter of Lorenzo, was celebrated.

The next place in the pope's affections was held by his daughter Theodorica, who had married a noble Genoese, and had been, of course, provided with a rich dowry. He was not less liberal towards his other children ; one of his sons was made archbishop of Benevento, a second a cardinal, and a third governor of St. Angelo. The least fortunate of his daughters, in a worldly sense, wedded a Roman noble. The holy father, indeed, proved an excellent pater familias ; and though he may justly be charged with many crimes, they were in great part committed in the service of his offspring.*

* In illustration of the views held by Innocent, Infessura cites in his "Diarium Rom. Urbis," an assertion once made by the holy father, that

We now approach one who exceeded all who had gone before in infamy, and whose name still remains a very epitome of every iniquity that can degrade human nature. It is Alexander VI., Roderigo Langolo by birth. He ascended the throne after the death of Innocent VIII., on the second of August, 1492. The Borgia family came originally from Valencia in Spain; though not wealthy it was of very ancient lineage, and had there borne the name of Langolo. The father of Roderigo emigrated to Venice in the hope of bettering his fortunes, and there, for reasons still unknown, assumed the name of Borgia. Young Roderigo studied the law in the city of palaces, then entered the military profession, and living much as young officers of that age were accustomed to do, soon became notorious throughout Venice for his many amours and wild adventures. After a time he abandoned the army for the church, as he saw in the latter much better promise of speedy advancement; for one of his uncles was bishop of Valencia, and had assured him of his protection. We, of course, need not anticipate the tonsure effected any change in Roderigo's manner of life; though what he had before done openly, and in the face of the world, he now did under a certain pretence of secrecy.

Among the ladies of his acquaintance was a certain Signora Vanozza, a widow, and he employed his flatteries so well, that she not only gave herself, but her whole

it "behoved every priest, for the glory of God and the Christian religion, to keep a concubinam vel saltem meretricem."

fortune, into his hands. We are told this Vanozza was very beautiful, though she could not have been very young, since she had marriageable daughters, whose charms made a marked impression on Roderigo, then only nineteen years of age. He kept his passions concealed from the mother, and so well succeeded, that when Signora Vanozza some time afterwards fell seriously ill, she, by will, confided her daughters to his guardianship. She died very shortly, and then the young priest could give free way to his desires. Both sisters were seduced by him; but the elder, awakened too late to a consciousness of her guilt, retired from the world, and hid her shame and remorse in a convent. The younger suffered from no such compunction, and became the mistress of her late mother's paramour, though the fact was concealed as much as possible from public observation.

Whilst Roderigo was leading this life at Venice, the bishop of Valencia was chosen pope, under the title of Calixtus III.; but the nephew lost no time in proceeding to Rome, to offer his congratulations, and remind his now all-powerful kinsman of those earlier promises of assistance. Calixtus received his visitor with great cordiality; and though the latter had not reached his twenty-third year, inducted him into a benefice producing twelve thousand florins, at no great interval making him bishop, and then archbishop of Valencia, and finally gratified the aspirant with a cardinal's hat, and an appanage of twenty-eight thousand ducats. All these appointments followed each other within a space

of three years, for Calixtus died in 1458, and well exemplify the manner in which the highest honours of the church were then abused.

Roderigo, once raised to the cardinalate, devoted his whole endeavours to the attainment of the supreme object of his ambition,—the papal throne ; and so well did he disguise his whole character, that he was presently cited as a model of every priestly virtue. His mistress had followed him to Rome : she did not enter his palace, though example was rife enough that would have justified her doing so. Roderigo employed his influence so well, with a discreet but needy Spanish hidalgo of his acquaintance, that the latter consented to act as sham husband for the daughter of Vanossa ; and, furnished with money by his patron, soon assumed a very respectable standing in the city as a Castilian count. The cardinal's daily visits to the countess were explained by a report, spread by him, of her mother's near relationship to the Borgia family. Thus, but few persons guessed the five children the fair dame presented to her lord were, in reality, the offspring of "his eminence," the cardinal. These five included four boys and one girl:—Federico, Cæsare, Godfredo, Ludovico, and Lucretia ; and their ecclesiastical parent spared no money that might fit them to assume the rank borne by their supposed father. Cardinal Roderigo by no means remained strictly faithful to the young Vanossa during the period of his cardinalate, and unhesitatingly consoled himself for his frequent absences from her during his diplomatic missions, as nuncio to various European courts, by other amours. But of these peccadilloes scarce any echo was heard in Rome,

where he had so effectually surrounded his name with an aureole of sanctity, that on the death of Innocent VIII., public opinion unanimously called him to the vacant throne. He had, moreover, spared neither hard coin nor fair words to secure a majority of the cardinals in his favour; whilst pretending such complete physical debility and exhaustion, that it might well seem he was not long for this world. The fruit of his machinations was shown triumphantly on August 11, 1492, when he was elected pope by twenty-two of the cardinals against five, to the universal delight of the Roman people. The five who had opposed him knew his character better, and whispered together, not too loudly, that once more a reign of violence and debauchery would be inaugurated, such as never, perhaps, had yet been equalled. The king of Naples judged with not less accuracy. In a letter to his consort, he wrote: "A man hath been placed on St. Peter's throne who will assuredly hand over all Christendom into the jaws of the devil."

How well his previsions were justified, was seen as soon as Roderigo had taken his pontifical title as Alexander VI. His first proceeding was to imprison the cardinals who had ventured to recal to him the promises made before his election, and shortly poisoned the more refractory of the number. The rest were brought to a discreeter frame of mind, and His Holiness might hope the Sacred College would offer no further hindrance to his proceedings. He then laid aside the veil which had shielded his paternity, and removed the five children to the papal residence. His eldest son, Federico, was endowed with considerable church property, in the gift of

the apostolic see; and King Ferdinand of Arragon induced, for certain reciprocal benefits, to make him duke of Candia. Cæsar, the second born, became archbishop of Valencia. The third, Ludovico, was created a cardinal; and Godfredo, the youngest, provided with a wealthy barony. Lucretia, who had become a very marvel of beauty, was not neglected; for though wedded to a Spaniard of high rank, her affectionate parent found the means of investing her with still higher honours. He simply decreed her divorce, consoling the bereaved husband with a purse of three thousand ducats; and having for some time lived with her, as he had done with her mother, then gave her in marriage to Giovanni Sforza, lord of Pesaro. The marriage was celebrated in the Vatican, with royal magnificence: three hundred cardinals, bishops, princes, and nobles of high rank, were present, with as many of the noblest ladies of Rome. Each of the former, indeed, had his appointed female companion,—so says the satirical papal private secretary, Infessura; but notwithstanding all the pomp and solemnity of the ceremony, the union lasted only a few years. Guicciardini explains: "The pope could not endure the rivalry of his son-in-law."

The Holy Father, whilst occupied with these family offices, learnt, to his great satisfaction, that Charles VIII. was about to make war on King Ferdinand of Naples; and the latter, in his alarm, readily consented to every demand made by the Borgia, so he might secure his alliance. Among the stipulations then agreed on, it was settled that the pope's eldest son should receive a yearly revenue of ten thousand ducats, and the highest

office in the gift of the Neapolitan crown; that his second son, Cæsar, should be endowed with the wealthiest benefices in Naples; and his youngest, made prince of Squillaca, and espouse the king's daughter, Sancia. King Ferdinand consented to everything; he was in too great need of papal support to debate the terms; and the marriage of Godfredo and the princess was solemnised at Naples, with the greatest splendour. As the bridal company travelled on to Rome, festivities, by Alexander's orders, awaited them in every city through which they passed, as though the hero of the scene had been a great monarch's heir, rather than a priest's bastard. Charles VIII. in the meantime advanced into Italy, regardless of the papal ban, and Alexander was driven to seek succour against the French,—first of the Venetians, then of Kaiser Maximilian, then finally of Sultan Badjazet. But his entreaties met with a like repulse wherever he turned; and it behoved him to find some other outlet from the difficulty. An embassy was despatched to the king of France,* bearing the solemn assurance, that the Holy Father was ready to renounce all previous engagements with King Ferdinand; and inviting Charles, in the most pressing manner, to Rome, where the pope would hold himself in readiness to crown his majesty king of Naples. Charles caught at the bait, hastened to Rome, received the papal benediction, thence marched to Naples, and put King Ferdinand to flight. The monarch of France

* The ambassadors taking with them, by way of amicable greeting from the pope, a great store of choice provisions for the king and his followers; including bread, meat, fish, poultry, eggs, cheese, oranges, figs, and fifty barrels of wine,—and sixteen well-favoured damsels,—so that "*illorum necessitatibus providerent.*"

was soon to learn the friendship his new coadjutor had professed was a mere trick : during the whole time Alexander had never ceased his negotiations with Milan, Venice, and the German empire ; and carried things so far, that an alliance, defensive and offensive, was formally concluded between him and the three States. So soon as Charles got wind of all these counter-schemes, he at once set out for Rome, to punish the perjured priest ; but Alexander learning this intention through his spies, sought safety in Perugia, within whose walls he could set the king at defiance ; for the French could not lay siege to the place, as they were obliged to hurry back to France, or the pope's allies would have cut off their retreat. Alexander and Ferdinand remained masters of the field : the former employed the king's withdrawal to mulct the Colonnas (who had espoused the French interests, and even demanded the deposition of the pope) of great part of their immense possessions, which he divided among the sons of Vanossa ; the latter re-conquered his kingdom, and drove the last remaining Frenchman over his frontiers. He could not long enjoy his triumph, dying very shortly ; and in default of direct male heirs, left the crown to his uncle, Frederick.

The pope having passed triumphantly through this period of trial and anxiety, was now at liberty to apply his thoughts to the satisfactory settlement of his house. He raised the city and province of Benevento, included in the states of the church, into a duchy, and bestowed them on his eldest son, the Duke of Candia. It brought no good to the recipient, for Cæsar Borgia, cardinal of

Valencia, was bitterly incensed at such a favour being accorded his brother, and his jealousy reached its climax on finding that a certain Roman signora, to whose favour he pretended, gave her preference to the new duke. The cardinal resolved to be rid of his rival, and commissioned four of the band of assassins he kept in his pay to effect this end. The day chosen was the 14th or 15th of June, 1497. On that evening the two brothers had agreed to take supper with their mother, and thus Cæsar had the best opportunity for delivering his victim into the murderer's hands. The meal was prolonged until nearly midnight, and the two brothers left, apparently on the best understanding. The next morning the duke of Candia was missing, no trace of him could be found; seven days later his body was discovered in the Tiber, with nine dagger wounds through his heart. Alexander almost lost his senses at the news, and his grief grew frantic when some persons who had witnessed the deed accused Cardinal Cæsar of the fratricide, whilst the latter unconcernedly acknowledged the fact, and met his father without one sign of remorse or compunction. It appeared the mother had been aware of the plot, but, conscious of Cæsar's superior talents and consequent capability of serving the family interests far better than his weaker and more scrupulous brother, she offered no opposition to it. Alexander at length fell in with her views, absolved his younger son of the crime, and permitted him to renounce the priestly calling, and devote himself to politics and war. The release of a cardinal from his vows, and his return to civil life had been quite unprecedented, but Alexander

cared as little for church canons as for moral laws, and at once despatched Cæsar to Naples, and demanded the hand of the eldest daughter of the king for him, with the castle of Taranto as a dowry, and the reversion of the Neapolitan crown in the event of the death of the king's sickly and only son. King Frederick at once refused these demands, declaring that a king's daughter was far too high a match for a priest's bastard, even though the priest were pope. Alexander was little inclined to brook harsh truths, and from that moment began to put his plans in order for wreaking his vengeance on Frederick. An admirable opportunity soon offered, and he eagerly clutched at it, though to be paid for by the ruin of Italy, and the death of many hundred thousand human victims. When Charles VIII. died in 1498, the throne of France passed to Louis XII., who had been compelled by Louis XI. to marry the deformed Princess Johanna, when deeply attached to the lovely Anne of Bretagne. The pope, who was naturally aware of these circumstances, sent a legate to Paris to offer the king canonical permission to put away his consort and wed the Princess Anne, though, of course, under certain specified conditions. His majesty had no more ardent wish, and at once agreed to the propositions, and shortly afterwards the following treaty was entered into by the two potentates:—the pope consented to pronounce the desired divorce, and support the king's claims to the kingdom of Naples and dukedom of Milan; Louis XII., on his part, agreed to furnish his ally with thirty thousand ducats, and endow Cæsar Borgia with the provinces of Valentinois and Diois in Dauphiné, yielding a

revenue of twenty thousand livres, and a ducal title ; thirdly, to bestow on him the hand of the fair Charlotte d'Albret, daughter of one of the richest and most powerful nobles of France, the Sire d'Albret, count of Havre, Perigord, and Castres, an ancestor, on the female side, of Henri IV. ; finally, to assist the pope in destroying the aristocracy of central Italy, and in founding a powerful duchy within the states of the church. Scarcely was the treaty concluded, when both contracting parties took the preliminary steps for its fulfilment. Cæsar was made Duc de Valentinois, and received the hand of Charlotte d'Albret. King Louis XII. marched with a powerful army into Italy, and entered Milan in triumph on the 6th of October, 1499. Cæsar was not idle ; as soon as a body of French auxiliaries could be added to his own Swiss troops, he applied himself without delay to the removal, or annihilation rather, of the most powerful families of central Italy, whose domains he had resolved to unite into a broad principality for himself. His first measures were against Forli and Imola : then attacking Pesaro, Rimini, and Faenza,* and, as he had not only a considerable army

* Faenza was so resolutely defended by the citizens and their ruler Manfred Astore III., who was but sixteen years of age, that during ten months Cæsar scarcely made any progress in the siege ; at length, having offered Manfred the undisturbed possession of his allodial domains, and promised to respect both the lives and property of the citizens, who were reduced to great extremity for want of food, Faenza capitulated. But the ill-starred and too beautiful Manfred and his natural brother, Octavio, were dragged to Rome, there subjected to the most revolting treatment by Cæsar, and subsequently by Cæsar's father ; and when the Borgias grew weary of the wretched victims, they caused them both to be strangled. The bodies were thrown into the Tiber, and only found

at his disposal but employed every manœuvre of treason, bribery, and deceit, all five provinces were secured without any great difficulty; and by the close of 1501, complete success crowned his ambition. Imola, Forli, Faenza, Cesena, Pesara, and Rimini, with the lordship and town of Forli, were included in the general title of the dukedom of Romagna, awarded by the pope to Cæsar and his heirs.

A great triumph had been attained by Alexander in thus founding a temporal sovereignty for the Borgia family, or rather in transforming the states of the church into their temporal inheritance. The pope's care was now to provide for his remaining children, better than he had done as yet; he initiated these measures by divorcing his daughter from Duke Sforza in order to marry her to Duke Alfonso of Biscaglia, a natural son of the king of Naples. This was her third husband, but he, too, soon became obnoxious to her father, so assassins were set on him (anno 1501) in St. Peter's, but as the wounds they inflicted were not mortal, Alexander had him strangled in bed a few days after. Lucretia again took up her residence in the Vatican on a footing of the most revolting intimacy with its master, and ruled Rome as though she were pope in her own person, and he her vicegerent. By Alexander's authorisation she was empowered to open all letters addressed to him, and even issue decrees in his name; to convene the cardinals in council, and pre-

some months afterwards: Manfred with a rope round his neck, and Octavio with his hands bound. When their identity had been established, they were buried in the graveyard of a monastery.

side at their deliberations; in fact, her own will or caprice, set the sole bounds to her authority. Within a few years she was united to her fourth and last consort, Alfonso d'Este, the heir of the dukedom of Ferrara, and thus secured elevation to sovereign rank. Lucretia was satisfactorily settled; not so the two younger sons of the pope, Roderigo, of whom the pope's daughter was at once mother and sister, and Giovanni, the offspring of Giulia Farnese, generally called Giulia Bella. Giulia had been sold to the pope by her brother for a cardinal's hat; the same brother afterwards ascended the papal throne as Paul III. To make Alexander's youngest born great seignors, Cæsar was commissioned to conquer Piombino and Elba, both held by Prince Iacomo IV. of Appiano, who fortunately made good his escape to France, or he would assuredly have lost his life as well as his lands. This triumph effected (September, 1501), Duke Guidobaldo of Urbino was marked for the next victim. The pope had so won over the infatuated noble by fair words, that he aided Cæsar with his best troops in the campaign against Piombino; then Cæsar threw off the mask, fell on his late ally, who was totally unsuspecting of treachery, and, at a single blow, destroyed his whole army. Guidobaldo escaped alive, notwithstanding all the efforts made by Cæsar to secure him, and found protection in Venice. Prince Giulio Cæsare Varano of Camerino stood next on the doomed list; but Cæsar did not meet at first with complete success; though he made himself master of Camerino, to the conqueror's great disgust Giulio and his three sons eluded him, and sought refuge with

Count Ramiccio, son-in-law of the old prince, at Matelica. The pope had now to come to Cæsar's aid. He wrote a very friendly letter to the prince of Camerino, excused the late proceedings as well as might be, and invited him and the young princes to an interview at Urbino, where the questions in dispute could be discussed in all amity. Varano fell into the trap, went to Urbino with his three sons, and had scarcely arrived, when he and they were set upon by hired bravos and strangled. With these several acquisitions and the forfeited estates of the Colonnas and Savellis, Alexander constituted two dukedoms, with which Giovanni and Roderico were endowed.

At length, but unhappily much too late, the nobles discovered the object of the Borgias was to annihilate them in detail, and they, in their extremity, united in a general league for mutual defence, September, 1502, at La Maggione, near Massima. Of this league, the Orsini, the lord of Sienna, the lord of Fermo, and the lord of Bologna, were the most prominent members. They collected an army of ten thousand men with little difficulty; for all Italy was ready to rise, so exasperated had the whole country grown at the iniquities of Cæsar and his father. Affairs assumed a threatening aspect for the Borgia cause, and the Holy Father had to propitiate fortune by a new act of treachery. He wrote to the chiefs of the league, offering very favourable terms, and solemnly taking oath he had no other object but peace and justice. The league at first refused to entertain his proposals; but the various members were gradually won over in detail by the baits he skilfully

offered to each ; and then the articles of a treaty were solemnly signed, by which the nobles were to be forever secured in the enjoyment of their possessions, and a lasting peace bestowed on the Roman states. Finally, as the seal of complete reconciliation and friendship, a meeting was appointed at Sinigaglia (December, 1502), where the pope, his sons, and all the chief nobles of the church territories appeared.

Everything went well at the commencement of the feast, the wine cup circulated merrily, treachery was undreamed of by the guests ; when suddenly Carlo, the captain of Cæsar's assassins, rushed into the hall, followed by a number of his underlings. The pope and Cæsar disappeared by a side door, and within a few minutes Francesco and Paolo Orsini, Eufreducci de Fermo, and the lord of Castellon, were murdered ; a few of their friends managed to effect their escape in the confusion, and the rest were thrown into prison. The possessions of the victims were, of course, confiscated ; and now as there was no opponent of any mark left in central Italy, Alexander trusted to completely realise his long cherished scheme—unite the Romagna with the other provinces, constituting the patrimony of St. Peter into a kingdom for the house of Borgia ; so that the triple crown of St. Peter might become part of its royal appanage. A circumstance, however, was approaching, fated not only to put an end to these hopes, but to extinguish for ever all the meteoric splendours of the Langolo family—it was the death of Alexander.

It will be readily understood vast sums were needed

to indulge the pope's licentious and luxurious habits, support his minions and mistresses, provide for his children, and maintain the wars carried on by his eldest son, whose mercenaries were always liberally paid; and among his financial resources was the systematised sale of church preferments, and of every post which as head of the church fell to his disposal. It too frequently happened that the men whom he had constituted bishops or cardinals, persisted in living inconveniently long, however he might desire to dispose of their offices to other aspirants. In such cases there were only the alternatives of irritating delay, poison, or cold steel. Summary departures to the other world implied by the latter courses, became a regular part of Alexander's system; wealthy cardinals and laymen even, in Rome, were frequently called on to illustrate it, as he assumed the right of inheriting their property in the name of the church. After the massacre of Sinigaglia, the pope had determined to make himself master of Florence, and thus give a comelier rounding to his future kingdom; but such an undertaking required ample supplies, and unhappily the papal coffers were very low. Guicciardini* declares, Alexander and Cæsar determined, therefore, to poison his eminence Monsignore Corneto, and nine other cardinals, to obtain the free disposal of their dignities and private property. A cardinal's hat then brought thirty thousand ducats.

The invitations for a supper were sent out; it was

* Guicciardini (born 1482) may be regarded as a perfectly unprejudiced authority.

summer, and the pope was to entertain his friends in a garden, at some little distance from the Vatican. The arrangements for the rustic festival were assumed by Cæsar, as well as the preparation of the poisoned wine. In order that the deadly beverage should not be mistaken for any other, Cæsar gave it into the charge of a trusty attendant, directing him to let no one touch it but those whom he should point out. The servant conveyed the wine to the vineyard, and placed it apart. Alexander's cellarer observing this asked the reason, and Cæsar's man replied:—"Oh, it is a very choice vintage, and intended only for certain favoured persons in the company;" a reply which the cellarer probably found quite reasonable. His Holiness arrived almost immediately afterwards, having something to talk over with his son before the guests arrived. By a strange chance Alexander was fated to forget a little gold amulet, containing a crumb of transubstantiated wafer, which he always carried about his person, as it had been prophesied he would not die so long as he did not part with the charm. Becoming suddenly aware he had left this priceless trinket upon a table in his private apartments, he hastily sent off his son's confidential servitor to fetch it; scarcely had the man left when the pope bade the cellarer give him a cup of wine, the oppressive heat of the day making him feel unusually thirsty. The cellarer naturally wished to give his master of the best, and concluding that the wine so carefully put aside by Cæsar's servant must be so, at once filled a flagon, and placed it on the seat by the side of His Holiness. Alexander, unsuspecting of harm,

filled a large cup, and drank it off hastily. Cæsar arriving shortly afterwards, followed his father's example, and emptied another cup of the same deadly draught. In a quarter of an hour the guests began to arrive; they had taken their place at table, the attendants appeared with the choicest viands; but before a morsel had passed Alexander's lips, he was seized in the throes of the poison agony, and fell to the ground, writhing like a trodden worm. The same symptoms were almost immediately exhibited by Cæsar, and, of course, every haste was used to bring the noble sufferers to their palaces. The doctors summoned, at once recognised the signs of poison, and prescribed the best antidotes in their pharmacopœia; but the drug was too powerful; no remedy had any effect on the pope, who died within a few days, August 9th, 1503; and though Cæsar's youth and iron constitution saved his life, he had to struggle for six months desperately with death before the peril was overcome.*

So closed the career of Alexander VI. His last hours were, indeed, terrible; his flesh seemed, whilst he still lived, to grow putrid, and fell from his bones; his tongue swelled, turned black, and hung from his lips, whence issued a pestilential effluvium; his whole body was covered with sores, so that he could scarcely have been recognised. No one would approach him in his last hours, and even the customary prayers for the dying were unspoken over his solitary couch. All

* During his last illness Pope Alexander's whole skin peeled off, and Alexander Gordon, his contemporary, declares, that "his skin was flecked like unto a tiger's." The poison used was probably white arsenic.

Rome waited not for the announcement of his death to break into open rejoicing, and when his body was afterwards laid in state within St. Peter's, a strong guard of soldiers was necessary to keep the people from insulting the lifeless remains. Such was the intense hate the tyrant had excited. Never, indeed, had even the papal throne been so dishonoured as by him; the crimes and excesses he committed would fill volumes, and yet not all be enumerated. Hundreds were poisoned by his orders; and so callous had custom made his conscience, that when news of a victim's death was brought, he would merely ejaculate "requiescat in pace." To satisfy his lust of gold, he caused those he had murdered to be accused of imaginary crimes, as a pretext for escheating their private possessions. We have already given several examples of his perfidy; we will but add one more very characteristic instance. Alexander had a serious misunderstanding with Ferdinand, king of Arragon, regarding a dispensation from conventual vows granted to a certain nun. He would gladly have found some grounds for rescinding the dispensation, or at least of avoiding the responsibility involved by it, and therefore charged the archbishop of Cosenza, his secretary, of issuing the brief without the papal authorisation, and imprisoned his grace in the castle of St. Angelo as a deceiver and forger. No man, least of all King Ferdinand, believed the archbishop guilty, and the latter positively denied the charge brought against him. The pope sent his most confidential minion, the bishop of Tula, to the prisoner, with orders to say, "His Holiness was well aware of his innocence, but if the arch-

bishop would assume the responsibility of the dispensation, and save the pope from a false position, he should not only receive full pardon but the highest honours in the gift of Rome. The archbishop believed and acknowledged himself guilty before witnesses. Alexander was triumphant, though he had still much difficulty in appeasing the king of Arragon. The archbishop, however, was not pardoned; the fate reserved for him was deprivation of all dignities, confiscation of all possessions, and imprisonment for life on bread and water. The cruelty of the pope was, if possible, surpassed by his licentiousness; the Vatican in his reign became a very den of abominations, the worst excesses of the worst days of the Roman empire were repeated, or surpassed, within its walls. The very churches were not safe from the universal pollution. He caused his beautiful paramour, Giulia, to be painted for one of them as a half-nude Madonna, and he kneeling as a high-priest at her feet. Alexander's vices, like his villany, were so thorough in their abandonment of all the bounds of moral law or social decency, that we very well regard them as unequalled in the traditions of historic crime. He had no sense of shame: his worst acts were perpetrated unblushingly in the face of day, as though virtue itself were changed to infamy, and the vilest sins were virtue. It may be worthy remark that the foul disease which some writers have declared first imported into Europe by the Spaniards from America, actually appeared under Alexander's pontificate, during Charles VIIIth's campaign in Naples.

We close this chapter with a few words on the last

days of the Borgias. When Alexander expired, Cæsar lay sick almost to death, and quite incapable of taking those measures he would in other circumstances have adopted. He had long determined on his course of action in the event of his father's demise, and his plans were so well laid that they could scarcely have failed, if not in making himself pope, at least in securing one of his own creatures on the throne. All the preliminary steps were arranged with singular tact, but Cæsar left out of his calculations that he, the prime mover of the scheme, might be lying desperately ill, incapable not only of action but even of thought. As soon as his state became known, the Orsini, and all those families whose property had been seized by Alexander, returned from exile and united in the determination to overthrow the Borgias. The cardinals who, with rare exceptions, had all been appointed by the late pope, still felt so much the spell of the Borgia authority, that they appointed a new pope, Sixtus V., completely devoted to Cæsar's interests, but, after a reign of but four weeks, he was poisoned by the opposition faction, whose influence was greatly on the increase. Then succeeded Cardinal delle Rovere as Julius II. (1503-13), who had been a steady foe of the Borgias, and was a nephew of the late Pope Sixtus. Delle Rovere had very prudently hastened to Cæsar, who was still an invalid, and proposed they should forget their former enmity, and become fast friends for life or death. Thus, on the 29th of October, 1503, a formal arrangement was entered into by which Cæsar undertook to secure the votes of all the cardinals attached to his interest, in favour of his

new ally ; and the latter in return promised to maintain Cæsar in his former post of Gonfaloniere (commander-in-chief) of the papal forces. Cæsar fulfilled his part of the contract, but it is strange so consummate a deceiver should have trusted Delle Rovere would keep a promise, when, having attained his end, it could no longer advantage him. In fact, it was evident, after a few weeks, that Cæsar, who had deceived so many, was at length completely outwitted. Scarcely had the new pope taken his seat on the throne, than he demanded the keys of the chief fortresses of the Romagna from his late confederate, and when the latter hesitated to give them up, caused him to be immediately arrested. In thus acting, Julius II. trusted for impunity partly to the support of the Colonna and Orsini families, partly to the continued illness of Cæsar, though he had still so much fear of the redoubtable Borgia name, that he had the prisoner carried off to a secure dungeon at Ostia on the very night of his seizure. Cæsar remained there five months, and having in the meantime greatly recovered his health, naturally employed his thoughts in contriving a scheme of escape. It proved successful, and he reached Naples in April, 1504. He had chosen Naples as his place of refuge because the viceroy, Gonsalvo da Cordova, had been his personal friend, and now solemnly promised him full freedom and protection. The pope, however, well knew how to manage the Spaniard: Cæsar was re-arrested and sent off to Spain ere a month had elapsed since his arrival. He was then consigned to the fortress of Medina del Campo, and received but stern hospitality from King Ferdinand, who considered the

opportunity an excellent one for ingratiating himself with the new pontiff. But the bold spirit of the Borgia was still unconquered, and, after a captivity of two years, he succeeded, by filing through the bars of his window, in lowering himself to the ground with strips of linen cut from his sheets. He sought refuge with his wife's brother, the king of Navarre, who not only received the fugitive in the most friendly manner, but gave him a post in the royal army. Cæsar, who but two years since had been supreme ruler of a dukedom which might have vied with the domains of many sovereign princes, must have keenly felt the humiliation of his present subordinate position ; happily, his philosophy was not long tried, for he died a few months later, March 12th, 1507, at the siege of the petty fortress of Viana.

With him fell all his brothers ; the new pope had as little compunction in making himself master of their possessions as of the Romagna, and everything claimed by Cæsar. The Borgia family sank into poverty far more rapidly than it had risen to riches : only Lucretia escaped the general ruin ; she died, in 1520, as duchess of Ferrara.*

* The epitaph, composed by the poet Pontanus, for Lucretia, ran :—

"Hic jacet in tumuli Lucretia nomine, sed re
Thais, Alexandri filia spousa, nurus."

"She was Lucretia hight, who lieth here, a Thais she, in sooth :
The daughter, son's wife, and spouse of Alexander."

CHAPTER IV.

NEPOTISM.

THE popes, up to the period we have reached in our last chapter, generally had the candour to acknowledge the children presented to them by their mistresses.

From henceforth, however, the occupants of St. Peter's chair, probably from the scandal brought on it by Innocent VIII. and Alexander VI., constantly styled their illegitimate offspring their nephews, nieces, or cousins. It was felt desirable that, though the church was still to pay for its hierarch's bastards, that at least its reputation should be respected.

Julius II. (1503-1513) occupied himself in the reconquest of the papal territories alienated by his predecessors ; and as he, therefore, spent nearly the whole period of his pontificate in the camp, it is no marvel his manners were greatly those of an old moss trooper. The Emperor Maximilian, who was passionately devoted to field sports, declared, laughing: "Wenn unser Herr Gott musste die Welt nicht in seine besondere Obhut nähme, so es derselben unter einem Kaiser der nicht ist als ein Jäger, und einem so versoffenen Pabst als Julius II., schlecht genug ergehen." ("If the Lord God did not

take special good heed of the world, it would get into a pretty mess, under an emperor who is nothing but a hunter, and a tippling pope, like Julius.”)

Nor were the weaknesses of Pope Julius confined to wine alone ; they were quite as great where women were concerned. His master of the court ceremonies declares, that on Good Friday, 1508, it was impossible for His Holiness to let his foot be kissed : “ *Quia totus erat ex morbo gallico ulcerosus.*”

The next pontiff, Leo X. (1513-1522), a son of Lorenzo di Medici, was a victim to the same malady ; it is asserted, this was in fact the immediate cause of his elevation to the papal throne. The symptoms were so threatening that, though he was but thirty-seven years of age, the cardinals elected him in the full anticipation of his speedy demise. Leo, as the son of the all-powerful Lorenzo, had been made a cardinal in his thirteenth year, and simultaneously endowed with a dozen or so of rich benefices. The election was effected after a very brief consultation ;—rumour said the unsavoury odour emanating from the pontiff expectant had not a little to do with this rapidity. Leo did not gratify his colleagues, however, by dying in the first year of his pontificate ; though during the eight it actually lasted, his influence was very little felt in church polity. He was a famous gastronome, loved bright eyes, cards and hunting ; cultivated the society of wits, poets and players ; and maintained a more brilliant court than any secular monarch of his age. His profuseness grew proverbial ; and many were the love adventures associated with his name. Rome, under him, became a second Sybaris. Hadrian

VI., Leo's successor, was so regardless of papal traditions, that he dared denounce the catholic church as utterly demoralised ; and that this demoralisation had originated in the papal vices, which cried aloud to heaven for vengeance. Nor was he content with mere protestations ; he determined to thoroughly reform its more flagrant evils, and set effectual barriers against their recurrence in the future. The cardinals were, however, so horror-stricken at the contemplated proceedings, they soon administered a potion to the originator, which set his disturbing projects at rest ; and Hadrian died eight months from the commencement of his reign. The Sacred College took good heed to choose no second Hadrian, giving the tiara in fact to the late Pope Leo's most intimate friend, who assumed the new honours as Clement VII., and retained them from 1523 to 1534. The election was none the less canonically invalid, Clement being an illegitimate son of Giulio di Medici ;* and illegitimacy was a recognised bar to church preferment. But the cardinals felt little compunction in ignoring a statute more or less, if their own interests suffered by it. Clement VII. reigned in much the same manner as his kinsman, Leo X. ; and though his court was, perhaps, less brilliant, it was no wit less licentious.

* The pope was very sensitive on this matter. A Benedictine monk at Florence having suggested, in a sermon, that His Holiness had not been born under the marriage sacrament, Clement had the poor brother dragged from the monastery where he had sought refuge and thrown into one of the dungeons of St. Angelo, under sentence of death. The sentence was not at once carried out ; but, little by little, the captive's allowance of food was diminished, until he gradually perished of starvation. •

Paul III. (1534-49), who had sold his sister, Giulia, for a cardinal's hat, next mounted St. Peter's chair. No very exemplary life could be anticipated from his antecedents. Whilst Cardinal Farnese, his mistress, Lola, had given him two sons, both legitimated by Pope Julius II., a proceeding that might well excite our doubts, but that the Bull * for the purpose is still extant.

Paul III. was so overwhelmed with grief on the death of his eldest born, that though his ambition was soothed by Pietro Luigis's young heir, Octavio, who wedded Margareta, an illegitimate daughter of Kaiser Charles V., and succeeded to the dukedom, he gradually sank, and expired within two years, November 1, 1549.

* The Bull bears date July 8th, 1508, and was printed in Affos, "*Vita di Pier Luigi Farnese, primo duca di Parma*: Milano, 1821." How much the cardinal disbursed for this document, is not stated; though "*Veduta in Roma*" stands on it, and proves it to have been a monetary arrangement. The younger of the boys, thus legitimated, died in childhood; the elder, Pietro Luigi Farnese, was invested by Paul III., immediately on the latter's elevation to the papacy, with the cities and territories of Parma and Piacenza, annexed to the tiara by Julius II., and which were constituted a duchy in honour of their new lord. Pietro Luigi did not long enjoy his honours; his tyrannous conduct raised him a host of mortal enemies.* A conspiracy was organised by some of the chief nobles of Parma, in September, 1557, when Pietro was killed, and his corpse hung from a window of the citadel, until devoured by the vultures.

* He caused the death of the celebrated Bishop Cosimo da Gheri, of Fano, in a manner too revolting to be related here. All Italy was horror-stricken at the deed; but the pope felt no compunction in absolving his son from what he regarded as a venial sin. Many ecclesiastical historians have endeavoured to disprove the story; but it is, unfortunately, but too well attested, and not only by contemporary witnesses, among whom we may cite the Florentine, Barchi, and Benevenuto Cellini. In our own day, Signor Affo, of Milan, has found incontestable proofs of the fact.

The latter months of his life had been employed by him in providing for the other members of his family; Ascanio Sforza, son of his daughter Constanza, and the world-renowned Alexander Farnese, second born of his son Pietro Luigi, among the number. Both, though but fourteen years of age, were raised to the cardinalate.

The life of the next pope, Julius III. (1550-1555), was even more scandalous than that of Paul III. As Cardinal Gioceri, he had distinguished himself by his wild licentiousness and buffoonery. He and a certain Cardinal Crecentius kept a seraglio in common; and as the parentage of its infant occupants was necessarily doubtful, their Eminences amicably shared the expenses of education and maintenance between them.

The pope, whilst still Cardinal Gioceri, had had a great taste for monkeys, and kept a large number. Their principal attendant was a lad of sixteen, scarcely less ugly and mischievous than his charges, and known throughout Rome by the nickname of Simia (ape). Immediately on attaining the pontifical dignity, Gioceri presented this master of the menagerie with a cardinal's hat, and several wealthy benefices. Such an example will sufficiently indicate the pope's general conduct for us. The same pontiff held a revision of the courtesans in Rome, when it was found no less than forty thousand were established there.

In Paul IV. (1555-1559) the church was no better represented. He was a proud, passionate, cruel tyrant. The Roman people at his death threw down the monument he had erected in his own honour on the Capitoline hill, broke off the head and an arm, and after

dragging it, amid loud execration, through the streets, finally cast it into the Tiber.

Pius V. and Gregory XIII. (1572-85), were no less cruel, though the latter especially added lust to cruelty. Of his numerous illegitimate offspring we need only mention Giovanni Buoncompagni, who was not only raised to the cardinalate by the Holy Father, but so richly endowed with church property, that the other princes of the church exhibited evident signs of discontent. He also gave a red hat to one of his nephews, and took every means of richly providing for all his family.

Sixtus V. (1585-1590) followed devoutly in the footsteps of his predecessor. Under no former papal ruler had so many executions taken place in Rome. He accounted for his summary mode of procedure, by declaring, "He liked better to see gibbets active than overcrowded prisons."*

Sixtus provided munificently for his sister Camilla, and her children. Camilla was made a princess, though, like her mother, she had previously gained her livelihood by washing. Her two sons became high ecclesiastical dignitaries, and her daughters were married to

* His cruelty was too well exhibited in his treatment of an unfortunate jester, who had written on Pasquin's column, "The pope wants a washerwoman, his mother having retired from business." When Sixtus heard the story, he offered a reward of one thousand ducats to whoever gave information of the author, or to the author himself, whose life should be spared, if self-confessed. The jester upon this came forward, and acknowledged the fact, and the pope kept his word, spared his life, gave even the promised thousand ducats—but not until the poor wretch's tongue had been torn out, and both his hands cut off.

the highest nobles of Rome; one to an Orsini, the other to a Colonna. He was not less generous in the bestowal of church land and treasure; of the latter his family received some four million ducats.

Paul V. (1605-21) was, perhaps, still more famous for nepotism; with him originated the later dignities and importance of the Borghese house. It had held a high position, both in Rome and Sienna, for many years; but not until Cardinal Camillo Borghese ascended the papal throne as Pope Paul V., did it attain its princely importance. Scarcely, however, was the new pontiff in possession of his dignities, than he appointed his brother Francesco, Gonfaloniere, whilst on Marco Antonio, son of his dead brother Battista Borghese, he bestowed the principality of Sulmona, and obtained for him the title of a grandee of Spain. He was even more generous still to Scipio Caffarelli, his sister's son, whom, on taking the name of Borghese, he raised to the cardinalate, and so richly endowed, that the fortunate youth was enabled to build the Villa Borghese,* standing near the Porta del Popolo, in Rome. The greater part of the money required for these objects was obtained by the most nefarious means, through the secret execution, or rather murder, of the Cenci family, whose vast property was immediately confiscated, and made over to Cardinal Scipio.

The affair happened thus. Francesco Cenci had made

* The Villa Borghese, with its magnificent grounds, is three miles and three quarters in circumference, and was of old famous for its rare artistic collections; they are now in great part removed to Paris, the famous dying gladiator among them.

a second marriage in 1600, when the several children by his first wife were already grown up. Soon afterwards reports became prevalent of his infamous conduct towards these children. His eldest son, Giacomo, openly complained of the tyranny of his father and stepmother, as did his daughter Beatrix, whose beauty was celebrated throughout Rome. Two years had scarcely elapsed, when Francesco was found assassinated in the streets. Investigations were at once commenced, as the Cenci were very wealthy; but, despite all inquiries, no trace of the murderer could be found. Suddenly, two men, professional brigands and assassins, appeared as witnesses, and made oath that Beatrix, and her brother Giacomo, had wished to engage their services for the murder in question; and though they had refused compliance, other agents had doubtless been discovered to do it. The evidence was of the most suspicious nature; for not only were the men by their very profession rendered unworthy belief, but it was even whispered their assertions had been obtained by heavy bribes from the young Cardinal Borghese. Pope Paul, regardless of this, caused both Giacomo and Beatrix to be arrested, and skilfully spread abroad a general belief in their guilt, founded on their previous complaints of the murdered man's conduct. As the accused denied the charge, apparently in the full consciousness of innocence, Paul had them stretched on the rack until the desired admissions had been wrung from their agony. Beatrix was then privately made away with in prison, and Giacomo killed by a blow on the head; their property was secured for Cardinal Scipio

Cafarelli Borghese, though a rightful heir to it still existed in their surviving brother, who, in any case, was far too young to have participated in their guilt. Might not the very name of this Borghese villa make its visitors shudder with horror when they remember how it was obtained.

Of Paul V.'s successor, Gregory XV. (1621-23), perhaps it should be stated to his credit that he remained faithful to the lady whose affections he had possessed as a cardinal, or so Heidegger, in his "History of the Papacy," declares. Cardinal Barberini, who next occupied St. Peter's chair as Urban VIII. (1623-44), acted very differently. He maintained, not only a very numerous seraglio, but provided for his illegitimate progeny in right royal style, though he carefully avoided recognising them but as nephews or nieces. To Francesco and Antonio, Barberini gave cardinals' hats, presented them to the richest benefices in his gift, and, moreover, with several rich estates, which were either church patrimony or had been purchased with ecclesiastical funds. A third nephew, Taddeo Barberini, was made præfect of Rome and Gonfaloniere; the pope purchased the town and lordship of Palestrina for him from the Colonnas, and called on the duke of Parma to renounce a part of the principality of Castro in his favour. The duke, relying on the justice of his cause, refused to comply; this refusal was immediately answered from Rome by sentence of excommunication, the pope sending an army to secure full effect to it. The duke, however, was so well supported by the Venetians and several other allies, that Urban renounced his design almost as

soon as commenced, and had to seek some other means of enriching his nephews, in fact, by squeezing as much from church revenues, and filching as much from the church lands as he dared venture on. No less a sum than twenty million scudi was thus appropriated by him; no wonder the Romans declared, "*Orbem bellis, urbem gabellis implevit*"—"He wrapped the world in wars, and the city in taxes").

After Urban VIII., Cardinal Pamphili was chosen pope, under the name of Innocent X. (1644-55), and assuredly none of St. Peter's successors was ever more under distaff government than he. The lady to whom the questionable honour of the fact is due, was a certain Donna Olympia, a Maldachini by birth, and widow of the pope's brother. Whilst her husband was still alive she had lived on the most intimate terms with Cardinal Pamphili.* She had great personal charms; but her avarice and ambition were even greater than her beauty. The pope was so completely under her influence he never dared oppose her wishes, and thus during his whole pontificate Donna Olympia held supreme sway at Rome, both in matters ecclesiastical and temporal. All decrees originated with her, and many were signed by her hand, though, of course, she employed the name of the pope. Whoever desired a favour from the apostolic chair, whoever had a petition to present, must first make application to her, though it was useless to do so

* Donna Olympia has found a special biographer in the well-known papal writer Letti, who, under the assumed name of Gualdo, relates the various particulars of her life. The book was entitled "*Vita della donna Olympia*," and appeared in 1666.

with empty hands. The fair donna was not satisfied, however, with the presents of her protégés; she sold every office, lay and clerical, in the gift of the pope to the highest bidder, and throughout the papal territory, both church and state were administered, with rare exceptions, by men as ignorant as they were worthless and venal. In short, a system grew up greatly like that of Madame Pompadour in France, or of Sarah Marlborough in England, in later times. We may thus readily imagine the Romans had little love for Innocent X., especially when, with his intellect still more enfeebled by age, Olympia persuaded him to issue the infamous corn monopoly laws, by which the most fruitful provinces of Italy were reduced to misery and famine. Hatred and discontent grew with each year, and as an insurrection was hopeless, the popular feeling found vent in bitter satires. A medal was struck at Florence bearing Donna Olympia on one side in the pontifical robes; on the reverse, Pope Innocent in a coif, with a spinning wheel beside him. Such gibes were barren of effect, for when Cardinal Pencirolo, with rare candour, informed Innocent of the state of public feeling, and especially of the contempt into which St. Peter's throne had fallen, though His Holiness for a time put his mistress away, he found he could not long exist without her; she was recalled, and, in a few weeks, re-established in her former power. During his last illness no one dared offer him medicine but Olympia, no one dared sit by his pillow but Olympia, and if she were absent a moment his impatience became unendurable. He had reached his eightieth year, when he at length expired in her

arms, loved, perhaps, by none, hated by hundreds of thousands, and despised by all Europe. The blood and treasure of St. Peter's patrimony had so long been unrelentingly sacrificed to the parasites and favourites of the popes, that the world longed for once to see an honest man on the papal throne, one who might in some degree satisfy the qualifications demanded by his office. The cardinals determined to appoint their colleague Monsignore Chigi—a very type of moderation, economy, and virtue; but scarcely had Fabio Chigi changed his name for that of Alexander VII. than he became as confessedly false, cunning, vain, voluptuous, and extravagant a Pontifex Maximus as had ever insulted Christendom by outraging all the precepts of Christianity. Two popular sayings still exist which take their origin from him, and attest the estimation in which he was held; the one says: "lies were his element;" the other is in four words, "Cardinale santo, pontifice demonio"—("Saint as a cardinal, devil as pope"). Alexander VII. had solemnly sworn to the cardinals never to receive one of his kindred within the Vatican, and, above all things, to remove the abuses which had assumed such monstrous proportions under his predecessors. At the commencement of his reign there seemed some hope he would keep his word. He lived with the greatest simplicity, or even asceticism rather, rarely eating anything but bread, figs, and chesnuts, and holding meat in abhorrence; drank nothing but water, and that from a skull, that he might have a *memento mori* constantly beneath his eyes; and his coffin was placed by his bedside. Within twelve months, however, a great change took

place, and the same scheme of oppression and favouritism was recommenced as that employed by Urban VIII. when the Barberini, locust-like, devoured the land. A knight of Malta was the first nephew that made his appearance at court, and the people said, in allusion to the white symbol on his cloak, "here comes the cross, the procession will soon follow;" they were perfectly right, for the "first" was soon followed by four other nephews, and then began the course of organised spoliation which had made Olympia so much hated. The pope kept his word, however, in that he "received none of the new arrivals in the Vatican," studiously riding out far beyond the walls of Rome, or even as far as Sienna, to show his affection and conscientiousness simultaneously in each case. He had promised Olympia the undisturbed enjoyment of her fortune in consideration of a bribe of one million ducats; she, however, was shortly banished by him to Oviedo, and mulcted of another five million; nor, probably, would the pope have rested satisfied with this, but her death occurring soon afterwards, she escaped from his clutches, and her heirs shared their inheritance in equal parts with his nephews, who thus secured the half of the booty.

The next three successors of Alexander VII. need not occupy us; strange to say, they appear to have had no nephews at all; but their moderation in this particular was amply compensated by Cardinal Ottoboni, who, as Alexander VIII., occupied the throne from 1689 to 1691. As he was eighty years of age at his nomination, he probably felt there was no time to lose; and immediately transferred every post that fell vacant to

members of his own family, and created a great batch of cardinals merely to gratify the "nephews." His chief favourite, among them, was a lad but twenty years of age, but whom he at once invested with a scarlet hat, and allowed such overweening privileges, that no one could gain admission to the "presence" without previously securing the good will of the youthful cardinal; a necessity that proved very costly to those who had recourse to it.

The reader may well be weary of the subject matter of this chapter; and we therefore pass over as briefly as possible the numerous examples of nepotism given by later popes. Moreover, measures were taken of later times to preserve at least an outward show of decorum, that the religious world might not have open cause of scandal. Only Clement XI. (1700-1721) offered an exception to this rule, exhibiting too singular a pleasure in visiting the painter Marotti, whose daughter's beauty was not less famous than her father's talent. Clement was no less assiduous a visitor of his fair sister-in-law, the wife of Horatius Albani; and the world was probably not wrong in attributing something more than mere brotherly affection as the cause. His recognition of the truth, that "wine cheereth the heart of man," was so thorough, that he would often gather a select circle of jovial monks in symposium, when the wine cup circulated until the whole of the party lay prone beneath its influence. Of nepotism, he cannot, however, be charged. Clement VIII. (1558-66), and Pius VI. (1775-1800), were both flagrant instances of the vice.

The latter paid dearly for his weakness; for when the

French carried him off to Florence, almost as a prisoner, the accompanying "nephews" suddenly abandoned him in his need, taking all his ready money with them.

With this instance of the ingratitude of, perhaps, the Last of the Nephews, we close our third book; convinced that, with the details from its text we have ventured to give, the reader has already had somewhat more than enough.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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THE
MYSTERIES OF THE VATICAN:

OR,

CRIMES OF THE PAPACY.

FROM THE GERMAN OF DR. THEODOR GRIESINGER.

TRANSLATED BY

E. S.

"Ed or discerno perchè dal retaggio
Li figli de Levi furono essenti."

DANTE, canto xvi., del Purgatorio

"Ahi, Costantin, di quanto mal fu matre
Non la tua conversion, ma quella dote,
Che da te prese il primo ricco Patre!"

Canto xix., del' Inferno.

"And now do I perceive why Levi's sons
Received no part in Canaan's portioned land."

"How vast the evil wrought, oh, Constantine,
Not thy conversion, but the fatal dower
That from thy hand the first rich Patre took!"

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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BOOK IV.

POPE AND CHRISTIAN CHARITY.

"A very effectual way of silencing an opponent is to tear out his tongue. It is good if one addeth thereto the cutting off his hands, so that his speaking and writing, too, withal shall come to an end. But the most effectual way to close all controversy is, indeed, to kill him without further delay, by fire or rope, or other suitable means."—*Jesuit Morality.*

"I am resolved that every one in my kingdom shall be free to save his soul in his own fashion."—*Frederick the Great.*

MYSTERIES OF THE VATICAN.

CHAPTER I.

WALDENSIANS.—EARLIEST HERETICS.

THE doctrines of Christianity were inherited from Christ and the apostles in anything but a definite or systematised form ; and thus, as we have seen in the earliest centuries after Christ's death, bitter controversies arose on the interpretation of this or that article of faith. The canonical observances of the primitive church were still more vague than its dogma ; and, indeed, first came into existence under the followers of the apostles. This process of development did not always proceed quite smoothly ; the faithful and their spiritual guides very frequently made the laws by which the church should be governed a matter of serious disagreement. Little by little, however, Roman catholic discipline and dogma attained their present form ; and by the ninth century the papacy had already reached its full and complete

development. The pope was autocrat of all Christendom ; his power greater than any other potentate in the eastern or western world. A temporal despot must rest content if the acts of his subjects are moulded to his will ; whilst the apostolic throne demanded men's obedience not only in what they did, but in what they thought. Christianity, or its doctrines, were no longer the point at issue ;—the thoughts and labours of the popes were centred in the peculiar gospel of which Rome was the great centre, and whence, indeed, it was called "Roman Catholic." All spiritual interests were made to revolve round the pope, and his decrees were recognised as irrefragable law. He was not merely the head of the church, but rather the personification of the church ; and, as Louis XIV. declared : "L'état c'est moi," the Holy Father might as justly have said : "I am the church."* Under this doctrine, every offence against the pope, every attack by the temporal power on the papacy, was a sacrilege,—an attack upon religion. And he who, for political reasons, was placed under the church ban, was at the same time denounced at Rome as a heretic, a renegade from the true faith. We may hence see how easy it was to fall into the sin of heresy : it needed but to act in a manner displeasing to the pope and his clergy, and a heavy sin against the incarnate deity of Rome was committed, involving the offender in all the penalties of excommunication.

* The papal policy remained the same through each successive century, and remains so to the present day. Do not the Ultramontanes denounce every infringement on papal prerogative as an attack on religion itself, and persistently identify the pope with Christianity ?

Although the pope was endowed with a power so vast, that even the mightiest monarch on earth trembled before him and his mercenaries, the priests, secular and regular, swarmed over the world, and were ready to call every offender to a speedy reckoning, who in never so slight a degree sinned against Roman catholicism, and those against whom mere suspicion of the deadly crime was entertained. Yet, we repeat, at the time when papal despotism was at its very height, there were men who dared rudely shake the vast fabric, raised by falsehood and ambition,—dared attack, not only the dogmas of Roman catholicism, but the Roman hierarchy, in its very foundations. It might be supposed, that the terror of papal omnipotence and its merciless employment, would have restrained all men from acting in a manner that might give umbrage to Rome. If we imagine ourselves placed in those ages; if we recal their barbarism, ignorance; their debased morality, and the general licentiousness in which the whole priesthood was steeped; the notorious fact that, with the rarest exceptions, all the higher dignitaries of the church had no care but for the increase of their own worldly possessions, whilst their lives were in monstrous contradiction to their assumed sanctity; if we remember that the whole of the laity,—men and women, kings, nobles, serfs,—knew nothing of Christian teaching, but as a mere ceremonial worship, with its pilgrimage-making and adoration of saints;—if we realise these things, we cannot feel surprised that at length men arose to protest, with indignant horror, against the corruption into which the world had fallen. The papacy had drawn its circle of deadly magic round

all Christendom ; and for the very reason it was so shameless an exercise of foul necromancy, a consciousness was awakened in men's hearts that its power was not from heaven ; that it behoved them to cast off its glamour,—resist it as they would resist antichrist.

The controversy on image-worship,—a controversy which ended in the papal decrees, commanding the universal worship of images,—aroused no little discontent among the faithful. Christians were thenceforth exposed to the sneers of Jews and Mohammedans, who declared them Mariolaters,—adorers of stone and wood, like the heathen of old. The sneer was bitter, but not less bitter than true, and set many men to ask themselves whether this fetishism had any foundation in primitive Christianity. Such speculations led those who entered on them still further ; and many were convinced that the Roman catholic church prescribed things quite extraneous to Christ's doctrines, or the usages of apostolic times. How many were led to this view, we have now no means of judging, though history has preserved the names of three, especially, among them ; and their words and actions may be regarded as the earliest indications we possess of the subsequent great Protestant heresy. Agobard of Lyon, Cladius of Turin, and Beringar of Tours, constituted the famous triad. The first was born in the reign of Charlemagne, and early attained the dignity of the episcopal office in the metropolitan diocese of Lyon, where he played no unimportant part in the time of King Louis the Pious. For our present purpose, his proceedings only concerns us from the fact, that he renounced all ceremonial rites, openly declaring

the devil himself had introduced the new-fangled ways, so that men might be drawn from the spiritual worship of God into a mere fleshly and sensuous one. Such a declaration was, of course, rank heresy; for the Roman bishops had already pronounced the ban against all persons who should oppose image-worship. Happily, for Agobard, the papal arm did not reach so far as in later times; and moreover, the Lyonese bishop only attacked one abuse,—in all other matters he conformed to the laws of the church. He was not alone spared all persecution for his opinions, but raised, after death, to place among the saints as the Holy Agobbio.

His contemporary, Claudius of Turin, so called from having been raised by Louis the Pious to the episcopal see of that city, went much further in his heterodoxy. He addressed a pastoral letter to the clergy of his diocese, in which he not only positively condemned image worship, but even the doctrine of saintly intercession. All pictures were removed from the churches of his diocese. He preached against pilgrimages, founding his teaching solely on that of the New Testament. A vast multitude of followers embraced his views, and the popular movement thus excited spread through all Piedmont, and even penetrated to the south of France. Claudius was, notwithstanding, suffered to die in peace; for though the bishop of Rome, Eugenius II., called on the Emperor Louis to proceed against the heretical bishop, his majesty was so fully convinced of the good qualities of Claudius, that he declined compliance, nor would allow the followers of the Reformer to be in manner molested for their opinions.

A heretic of a very different type was Beringar of Tours, a Professor of the School of Philosophy there, and archdeacon of Angers. About this time (1040) the dogma of transubstantiation was first promulgated, and both the popes and their subservient priesthood welcomed it with delight, it so greatly enhanced their importance and prerogatives. Thenceforth the priestly function of "creating" the body of the Lord became generally recognised; and it might not illogically have been maintained, that the priest, being able to make God as often as he was so minded, must necessarily be greater than God. But, however much the Catholic church strove to establish the new dogma throughout Christendom, it still, especially in France, met with very resolute opponents. Among these Beringar was, perhaps, the most distinguished, by the logical acumen of his reasoning. He boldly declared "the sacramental bread and wine were but the outward symbols, whilst any actual change in their nature could not for a moment be reasonably maintained." This temerity caused Bishop Leo IX. to cite Beringar before the episcopal judgment seat at Rome, and his refused obedience to the summons brought down (anno 1050) the papal anathema on his head, "in contumaciam;" he remained, however, regardless of it, under the protection of the king of France, at Tours.

Pope Nicholas II., nine years later, repeated the citation. Beringar, no longer in a position to defy the command, was ultimately obliged to retract his doctrines, in order to avoid death at the stake. Only after making a new declaration of faith, and swearing he would thenceforth believe the wine and bread actually

“transubstantiated” into the body and blood of the Saviour, was he set at liberty. Scarcely had Bishop Beringar, however, returned to France, than he retracted the recantation to which he had been compelled against his will; confident, that at Tours, King Louis would protect him from the strong arm of the pope. He, however, was cruelly deceived; for, when in 1107, the mighty Gregory VII. mounted the papal throne, the heterodox bishop was once more seized, and would assuredly have lost his life, if he had not preferred to deny his opinions a second time. Then, to avoid all future chance of unpleasant acquaintanceship with the executioner, Beringar retired to the island of Cosmos, near Tours, where he lived in complete obscurity and tranquillity, until his death, in 1083.

Thus much we know of these three celebrated men, who, moreover, did not act in all probability without a certain amount of mutual confidence and moral support. They had many colleagues, who embraced their views, and a vast number of disciples; so that during their lives the “poisonous weed” of heresy spread fast over North Italy, and the south of France. What were the actual doctrines of these heretics our informants do not say; they merely declare, “It hath come to the knowledge of the church, that many in those parts do not share the true Roman Catholic faith.” Manichœans is the name given the heretics; not, however, that they shared the opinions of the early Gnostics, but simply because the word was then employed as “heretic” now is. A Manichœan was one who did not subscribe to the doc-

trines of the church of Rome, and was therefore liable to death ; for the Roman church of the fifth century had passed sentence of capital punishment on all Manichæans, and therefore many dignitaries of the hierarchy in the tenth, were zealously desirous of proceeding against the new dissidents without delay, cutting them off, root and branch. It appears a good deal of tolerance was still granted them, however, though by the eleventh century a very different policy was adopted.

In 1017, under the pontificate of Pope Benedict VIII., a presbyter of Rheims accused Herebert and Lisoius, very popular priests of that city, of heretical opinions. The pope, and the king of France, after hearing the charge, ordained the offenders should be judged by a synod, to be held at Orleans. Herebert and Lisoius, with thirteen of their followers, were cited to appear, and render an account of their opinions. They obeyed ; and as the contemporary historian, Rudolph (who was minutely acquainted with all the affairs of the Apostolic see) informs us, set forth their belief with so much clearness and good sense, that the assembled prelates were quite unable to refute it ; yet the whole fifteen, on refusing to recant, were publicly burnt at the stake.

These were the first heretics who expiated their offence in the flames. Of the exact character of their heterodoxy very little is known, except that they renounced the whole ceremonial worship of the dominant church, and protested against the rites adopted by it. Doubtless, their views were closely allied to those professed by

Claudius of Turin two hundred years earlier, but by Orlean's synodial edicts they were denounced as heretics, and condemned to death at the stake.

It was, doubtless, anticipated by the orthodox party, that their fate would effectually put a stop to heresy ; but the actual result was, strangely, to defeat all such expectations. In 1025, Bishop Gerard of Arras summoned a synod, to consider the necessary steps required for staying the growing evil of heresy. The offenders, in this case, declared their belief (derived from an Italian named Gandolfo) incapable of being controverted, and the only true faith, founded as it was on the Bible.

The bishop gave himself no trouble to refute their assertion ; but as the accused persons held doctrines at variance with those of the church, he had them all burnt, as the fifteen had been at Orleans. Still, heresy was not suppressed ; it spread, ever wider and wider, as we see by the synod held at Toulouse in 1059, when not only the ban of the church was pronounced against all heretics personally, but against all persons in any way connected with them, or who gave them any protection or succour. Heresy was now confessedly made to consist in opposition to saint and image-worship ; in zeal against the profligacy of the priesthood and monks ; in the disbelief in salvation by good works. (pilgrimages, church building, &c.) ; and, most flagrantly, in the assertion that the then teaching of the catholic church was no longer in accordance with Christ's. No wonder, therefore, the bishops and the popes opposed such doctrines with all the power at their command ; for their overthrow was, indeed, a question of the most vital import, the more so

when it was evident the professors of this heterodoxy formed an organised sect. This sect included two subdivisions,—the so-called *credentes* and the *perfecti*, or electi (the perfected or elected) ; the latter assumed the duty of preaching the gospel to their brethren, or were ready to prove their devotion to their faith by their death, if need were.

Yet this process of “uprooting” was not to be so readily effected as the papal party imagined ; for when, here or there, a dozen or two heretics had been burnt, the “perfecti,” who spread over the length and breadth of the land, found ten new converts for every one thus sacrificed. Heresy, disclaiming its former denomination of Manichæanism, now assumed a distinct title,—the best indication its object had become clearly defined. Waldenses the heretics called themselves. Their origin has been thus accounted for. In the first half of the twelfth century, under the pontificate of Pope Innocent II., a wealthy man, named Petrus Waldo, or de Waldo, residing in Rome, employed a certain Stephen, a catholic priest, to translate the New Testament. Petrus then devoted himself to the study of the scriptures in the most zealous manner, and was so deeply impressed that he sold the whole of his possessions and distributed the money among the poor. He then commenced preaching the gospel, but soon came in conflict with the catholic priesthood. He was then excommunicated, and obliged to save himself from worse consequences by flight. But though the whole hierarchy was in arms against him, and the pope cited him to appear for judgment at Rome, he still continued to preach and teach as fervently as

before ; and a multitude of devotees soon attached themselves to his cause, and in his honour assumed the name Waldenses. So runs the tradition ; but the tradition is mere myth, for the pretended Waldo never existed, nor is there any place in France so designated. The story, doubtless, arose from the fact, that the chronicler, Petrus von Pilichdorf, who wrote a great book in the thirteenth century, on the Waldenses, especially signalises among the members of the sect a certain Petrus, whom he further distinguishes by the cognomen, Waldensis. Thence the readers of his work concluded that his favourite hero was the founder of the sect, and so gradually built up the romantic story attached to his name with that regardlessness of actual facts, so characteristic of early history. The truth is, the name, Waldensis, was already known in the eleventh century, and that Petrus von Pilichdorf merely calls the Petrus he writes of, "Waldensis," because he was famous among the Waldenses, who originally, indeed, had not been so called, contemporary writers speaking of them, on their first appearance, as "Valensis," or "Vaudois," or "Wadoys,"—all these denominations taking their rise from *val* or *vauz*, and signifying simply "people of the valley ;" inhabitants, doubtless, of the Piedmontese valleys, who had adopted the teaching of Claudius of Turin with peculiar enthusiasm, preserving it intact the whole intervening period from his death.

There is now no doubt but that the Waldenses arose in this manner, though we have much less certainty of the actual nature of their creed, possessing, as we do, scarcely any written evidence on the subject. Yet even in this

we may approximate to certainty, with little difficulty, if we keep in mind that at least in the earlier stages of its development only the poorest and least educated of the population attached themselves to the new teaching. The Waldenses were but humble, simple-hearted folks, and their faith was equally unpretending. Of a theological system, or defined dogma, there can be no question in their case; they possessed, however, an Italian translation of the scriptures, and almost every family boasted a copy of the precious work. They deduced their whole rule of faith from it, and directed all their religious inspirations to the realisation of apostolic Christianity. They, therefore, renounced all the practices adopted into the catholic church since it had become a state religion; and even declared that catholicism, as developed since the days of the Roman bishop, Sylvester, a fabrication, essentially unchristian in tendency. For this, too, the priesthood or clergy was especially offensive to them, for it had destroyed the purity of the primitive faith; whilst its members adopted a manner of life at direct disaccord with the doctrines of Christianity. For this, too, the head of the priesthood, the Roman pontiff, was an abomination in their eyes, and they not seldom designated him the Baal of Babel, and Antichrist.

Under these circumstances, it may easily be supposed the clergy would feel little tolerance towards the heretics, although they lived quite inoffensively and peaceably in the Piedmontese valleys, and avoided all offence to their catholic neighbours.

The anger of the Catholic priesthood was chiefly ex-

cited by the Waldensian "Messengers of faith" so called, who presumed to openly preach the gospel to the masses. Papal ecclesiastical history speaks with peculiar rancour of two of these men, Peter and Henry de Bruys, whom it especially denominates as heresiarchs, "princes of heresy." They had left Italy for France at the commencement of the twelfth century, and are supposed to have been fugitive monks; they, probably, were members of the "perfecti," whose chief duty was the dissemination of the gospel. Strangely enough very little is recorded of their lives; indeed, of Peter we know scarcely more than that he was murdered by a Catholic mob excited against him by the priests. Henry's history has reached us somewhat more in detail; we are told he preached the faith in Sausonne, Mons, Perigueux, Bordeaux, Arles, Poitier, and especially at Toulouse; nor did he do so with any secrecy; a multitude of followers attended him, the fame of his piety spread abroad; he generally entered a city at the head of a vast procession gathered in his honour, and preceded by a large cross he had borne before him, so that by many he was regarded as a zealous Catholic. Under such circumstances he could not fail of hearers; the novelty of the spectacle was sufficient to collect the people round him, who, as the bishop Herebert of Mons tells us, were often joined by their priests. The same prelate records having seen on a certain occasion not only women bemoaning the sinfulness of their lives at the feet of the missionary, but even members of the Catholic clergy, in the same public manner, deploring with sobs and moans their backslidings and evil deeds.

Bishop Herebert, however, and the majority of his colleagues had no such satisfaction in the said sermon, for, immediately after hearing it, he started for Rome to confer with Eugenius III. on the unsatisfactory aspect of the religious interest in the south of France, and Eugenius at once despatched Cardinal Alberino de Ostia charged with the task of putting an end to the Waldensian scandals. The cardinal proceeded on his mission in the full pomp of his office, and accompanied by many of the most eloquent of the priesthood, the famous Bernard de Clairvaux among them, taking all the cities and districts on his way most infected with the heresy.* He lost no time in adopting energetic measures against Henry de Buys and several of his colleagues, when, having secured their persons, he at once left for Italy, where, though we have no positive information on the subject, they either died a martyr's death, or disappeared in the living tomb of a monastic prison. These events occurred in 1148, and the legate returned to Rome in the same year, though not until he had first received the oaths of the barons and knights of the south of France, that they would "remain faithful to the Roman church, and persecute all heretics;" and, indeed, his eminence was fully convinced that with the removal of its leaders the schism itself would quickly die out. But herein Cardinal Alberico was sorely misled, for though the faith of the Waldenses found no echo beyond the lower ranks of society, yet their communities were too

* On this occasion the town of Albi, in the neighbourhood of Toulouse, received peculiar care as a chief seat of heresy; and we mention this in the present place, as the heretics of the whole south of France were afterwards called Albigenes, from this town.

firmly organised to dissolve on the loss of a few of their "elect." The sect, indeed, spread ever wider, and gave no sign of repentance, when Alexander III., in 1163, pronounced the ban against it. Their doctrines spread beyond France ; in the city of Trêves four heretic missionaries were shortly seized, two renegade priests among them, and all immediately put to death. A like severity was employed in England, where a German named Gerold, who had gone thither to spread the faith, and had already made thirty converts, suffered the like fate, paying for his devotion with his life ; his proselytes were excommunicated, their property confiscated, and their faces branded with hot iron, so that all men might shun them. Other missionaries directed their efforts to Lorraine, and secured many adherents by procuring the translation of the Bible into the vernacular tongue. This incensed Pope Innocent III. more than all else, and he at once had every copy of the heretical fabrication seized and burnt. The Waldenses found a no less fruitful field of operations in the Netherlands, where a certain Tamcheln preached with fearless energy against the vices of the clergy, and, naturally, expiated his temerity with his life (anno 1126). But the pope found his sorest trial when the doctrines made their way into Italy, and found in Arnold of Brescia so eloquent and distinguished an exponent. Arnold, who took the surname of Brescia from the place of his birth, appears to have been acquainted with Hugo de Bruys in his early youth, and commenced his career as a preacher against ecclesiastical abuses in Brescia. His doctrines made many converts, and even exciting an insurrection against

the bishop, whose temporalities he denounced as a scandal. Arnold next went to Rome, which was then plunged in the wildest anarchy, from the schism created by the rival popes, Innocent II. and Anaclet. His object was to disseminate a knowledge of the gospel, establish religious freedom, and with it political emancipation for the subjects of St. Peter's throne. The twofold character of his preaching, in which he not only lashed the sinful lives of the ministers of religion and the demoralisation of the church, but especially denounced the whole scheme of the papal temporal power as completely at variance with the true duties of the papacy, procured him here also a vast number of adherents. Within a brief period they included all the lower and middle ranks of Rome, who suffered themselves to be convinced by him that a temporal government for their temporal interests would be far better than the theocracy under which they existed. In 1139, Anaclet II. (the anti-pope) died, and as the sole papal supremacy then lapsed to Innocent II., the latter at once employed it in launching sentence of excommunication against Arnold; further commanding the offender's writings to be burnt and his person seized. The Brescia escaped the fate prepared for him, however, by a timely flight to France, where he made the acquaintance of the famous Abelard, a heretic also, though not claimed by the Waldensians.* The arm of the pope, however, would have reached him even there, and he was obliged to seek greater safety in

* Abelard was renowned in his age as a scholastic philosopher, but his connection with the beautiful Heloise, to whom he was so devotedly attached, has made him more celebrated than his rationalistic speculations on the Trinity.

Switzerland, where, from 1140 to 1154, he laboured for the Waldensian faith, his efforts being chiefly employed in Constance, Lausanne, and Zurich. In 1154, immediately after the decease of Pope Anastasius IV., when Hadrian IV. ascended the throne, the Romans sent a deputation inviting Arnold of Brescia to take up his abode again among them. Arnold accepted the proposal, and the Romans, on his coming, rose and drove out Pope Hadrian. In retaliation, the pope pronounced sentence of excommunication against the rebels, though they still lay under a former ban, and the city of Rome was placed under interdict. The pope at once addressed himself to Kaiser Frederick Barbarossa in this great strait, but the Romans also sent an embassy to the Hohenstaufen, and entreated him, like the emperors of old, to make the seven-hilled city his residence, and the capital of his empire. Frederick hesitated for some time, but the pope at length prevailed, perhaps from the royal respect for the hierarchal office, or, still more probably, from the royal contempt for revolution. The Hohenstaufen agreed not only to reduce the rebellious subjects of His Holiness to submission, but to deliver the arch rebel Arnold into his hands. This occurred in 1155, and scarcely had Arnold been delivered into the power of his priestly foe, than he was summarily condemned, and sent to the scaffold. In vain the people of Rome rushed to save him when they learnt the fate in which he was involved—they found nothing left of their heroic leader but a handful of ashes. So ended Arnold of Brescia, perhaps the most enterprising of all the Waldensian missionaries.

Although the popes at this epoch had come to consider death alone was an effectual panacea for heresy, the noxious growth increased even more and more, and the Waldenses, though perhaps under other denominations, might be found in every country of Europe. In Lyons, and its neighbourhood, they were known as "Bonihomines," and "Poor folk of Lyon;" in Upper Italy, as "Henriciani," or "Pietro-brusiani;" doubtless, in honour of the two missionaries, Henry and Peter Bruys. In Lombardy, as "poor folk of Lombardy," or "Humilianti;" in other countries, as "Katharei" (the unsullied); though the title was more properly applied to another heretical sect, which came into existence about this time. Their form of heterodoxy was of a Gnostic character; it had originated in the East, where its adherents denominated themselves Paulicians, from their peculiar reverence for the apostle Paul. They were most numerous represented in Armenia, and the mountains of the Caucasus, where they formed a completely independent church, zealously opposed to the whole system of image worship and Hebrew formalism, adopted into that of Rome.

In the ninth century these Paulicians were so mercilessly persecuted by the Byzantine emperors, that many sought refuge in Bulgaria, and various other provinces of the Greek empire, already seized by the Mohammedans; whilst a smaller number emigrated to North Italy, and established religious communities at Florence, Vicenza, Spoleto, Bagnolo, and Concorezo, even extending their ramifications into the south of France, where, finding an "heretical" sect, with doctrines greatly like

their own, they naturally united with, and were soon merged in it. Both Paulicians and Waldenses renounced not only image and saint worship, but the whole external ceremonial of the Catholic church; both maintained the doctrine that God and His Son Jesus Christ, were alone fit objects of adoration; both rested their whole faith on the Scriptures as the sole basis of religious truth, and totally disregarded the claims of tradition, the papacy, and papal Bulls. It was, therefore, of little moment, if they differed in some minor questions regarding the sacraments of communion and marriage, the creation, &c.—they were firmly united in the chief points then at issue—for both regarded Roman Catholicism with the same detestation.

We thus find that towards the close of the twelfth century, a multitude of heretical communities had come into existence, in which, as in Toulouse, Albi, and Cahors, Paulicians and Waldensians lived so intermingled, it was not possible to separately distinguish them; and thus it happened that Catholics indiscriminately entitled the one and the other indifferently Katherians, Coterellei, Bescolei, Brabrantines, Navarrese, or Arrogonese, &c.; though all these names are but an indication how wide-spread the reform movement had become; and it is no marvel the pope, and all his staunch supporters,* were intent on putting an end to it.

* Heretics were also called Sabatians, from the Spanish word *sabata* (sandal), as they wore sandals, to imitate the apostles in outward customs, as in things spiritual. However numerous these names may be, they by no means indicate distinct sects, but only prove the Catholics were ignorant of their opponents' doctrines, or they would have employed a single distinctive epithet to characterise them.

The captivity, or death at the stake, of individual heretics, until then adopted, had led, indeed, to no satisfactory result; on the contrary, heresy continually found new proselytes; so it behoved Catholicism to organise a new system of warfare, if the danger of complete defeat was to be avoided; and this system was no other than the wholesale massacres, of which we must speak in our next chapter.

CHAPTER II.

WHOLESALE HERETIC MASSACRE.

By the close of the twelfth, or beginning of the thirteenth century, heresy had already extended over Italy, England, Spain, Germany; even in Hungary, Bosnia, Bulgaria, and Dalmatia, traces of the movement were perceptible. Its chief foci were, however, in the south of France, especially in Toulouse and Albi. In both towns nearly the whole population would appear to have been Katherian; and from Albi they shortly obtained the name of Albigenses, which had become synonymous with that of heretic. In reply to the question, why was this part of France the especial seat of heresy, we are told by the unanimous testimony of contemporary historians, that the explanation lay in the favour shown to the new doctrines by the counts of Toulouse. Count Alphonse, who died in 1176, is accused of having protected the Waldenses, still more his son and successor, Raymond V.

Therefore, Pope Alexander III. sent a special legate, to investigate the state of things. The legate arrived at Toulouse in 1180, and soon assured himself of the multitude of the heretics, both in the town, and the sur-

rounding districts; but, at the intercession of Count Raymond, neither excommunicated nor sentenced them to death, contenting himself with their promise to return to the bosom of the church. It appears, however, this promise was not kept; for a short time afterwards the pope sent the same legate to King Louis VII. of France, and Henry II. of England (the latter as duke of Normandy held a considerable part of the French soil), to induce both monarchs to take the field against the heretics, and especially compel the count of Toulouse to withdraw his protection from them. But the kings had too much business on their hands to meet the pope's wishes, and he was obliged to content himself with issuing a Bull of anathema, calling on the knights and nobles, bishops, and lords spiritual and temporal, to hunt out the heretics, confiscate their possessions, and banish them from the land. A few years later, when Raymond VI. had succeeded his father, Raymond V., as count of Toulouse, and Innocent III., that pope of popes, held St. Peter's chair, a new aspect came over the affairs of the Albigenses.

We have dwelt at some length on the character and acts of Innocent in our Second Book, and the reader will recognise but the logical application of that pontiff's principles, in the determination he had cherished from the very commencement of his reign, to forcibly put down all religious dissent.

He saw clearly the object of all these sects, whether called Waldenses, Paulicians, Katherians, &c., or by any other of their various titles, was no other than the overthrow of the Roman Catholic religion, and the sub-

stitution of the simplicity of the primitive church in its place. The measures he resolved on might well pass credence; but it was a question of life and death for the papacy. If the heretics were unmolested, their opinions would assuredly spread even wider, and the possibility was scarcely chimerical, that Rome itself might before long be conquered by the new doctrines; there was therefore no alternative for Innocent but their annihilation.

The abstract dogma professed by his opponents very little concerned the pope; he was solely bent on enforcing the unconditional recognition of the papal authority; and this he was resolved to carry out, though the whole fabric of society were shattered in the struggle. Thus, Gnostics, Katherians, and pietistic Waldenses, were included by him in a common denunciation, for both alike refused to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome; and any member on reconciliation with Rome, was required not only to renounce his heretical doctrines, but take a solemn oath of complete obedience to the papal power.

In the first year of his pontificate, Innocent despatched his legate, Reiner, to Spain and the southern provinces of France, charging him with an encyclical letter to all the princes, barons, bishops, &c., prescribing the sternest measures against the heretics. The pope was no longer satisfied with the martyrdom of the more distinguished among the heretics; for it had been already proved that the ashes of such victims proved the most prolific seed of schism.

His measures were, therefore, not to be directed against single individuals; he was determined to cut off

the whole poison tree of heresy, root and branch, at one blow. As a preliminary step, he at once commanded the arrest of every known heretic, and the confiscation of their possessions. The children of a heretic were made to share their parents' ruin; the "house in which a heretic had taken refuge was, by the same decree, commanded to be razed to the ground." "No one, from mistaken charity, shall give succour or aid to one of the accused, under penalty of incurring suspicion of sharing his sin; the nearest ties of blood or friendship shall be held no ground of excuse; an oath, sworn to an heretic, shall be null and void, for no one is bound to hold faith with, but rather in every way deceive, mislead, and circumvent him."

Such was the message brought by the legate, Reiner; but he did not find all the princes to whom he addressed himself disposed to make themselves the executioners of papal vengeance. Raymond VI. of Toulouse, openly ignored the fiat. Therein lay a serious danger for Rome. The count was very powerful, his territories equalling many a sovereign principality in extent; whilst close relationship with the royal houses of Navarre, France, and England, made him no despicable opponent. The refusal of the count to interfere became still more menacing, from the fact that his principal vassals, especially the vicomte Raymond Roger of Albi, Beziers and Carcassone, and the vicomte de Foi, were devoted to the heretical cause; and they could not be expected to consent to the persecution of their brethren in the faith.

What course was to be adopted? Was it possible to bring the count and his lieges to obedience; or if this

failed, what alternative was there left? At first, Innocent despatched missionaries into the country, and theological discussions were held, to enlighten the perverts. But at these discussions,—that, for instance, held at Carcassonne in 1207,—the heretics proved the better logicians; nor could their opponents in any instance overthrow arguments based on the letter of the scriptures, and the writings of the earliest “fathers.”

The pope saw that, with such palliatives, no ultimate victory could be insured; and he therefore commissioned that true arch-priest, Petrus de Castelnau, one of his missionaries, to formally call on the count of Toulouse to commence proceedings against the heretics, and pronounce the ban of the church against him, should he refuse compliance. Peter carried out his master's orders; and as the count proved refractory, laid him under the anathema. One of Raymond's knights was so exasperated at this proceeding, that he murdered the meddling priest, January, 1208, at a place not far from St. Gilles; and the count fell under suspicion of commanding, or at least of instigating, the crime.

Innocent, indeed, regardless of the unhappy prince's solemn oath the knight had acted without his knowledge or authority, pronounced the ban a second time against him, and laid his territories under the interdict. Most probably, His Holiness was well aware of the count's innocence; but the opportunity the death of Peter of Castelnau offered was of too tempting a nature, and he at once despatched legates into France and Germany, to preach a crusade against the excommunicate count and his heretical subjects. “It behoveth all men to

take up arms against the offenders, who assuredly are no better than the unbelievers of the East, and beyond question far more noxious." By special Bull, the pope granted plenary indulgence, both for past and future sins, to all, whether knights or villains, who should enter the field against the Albigenses. To make the campaign still more popular, he offered no slight inducements to his orthodox warriors. The soldiers of the crusading army were empowered, or rather enjoined, to sack and spoil all the towns and villages in the land of the unbelievers, whilst the barons and knights were to have their zeal rewarded with its broad lands and fair castles. Such bribes proved but too tempting : an army of about 30,000 men was soon collected, composed chiefly of French and German rascality, which had no other object than to sate itself with murder, robbery, and licence, and squander in debauchery that which had been won at the cost of torrents of blood. What mattered it, however, though the crusade were accompanied with nameless horrors, and a few thousand catholics were plundered and massacred in common with their heretic fellow countrymen ! Sacerdotium was to be saved, at any price, though half France were ruined in the process.

The army of the orthodox grew ever larger ; and though King Phillip Augustus of France declined personal participation in the holy enterprise (being then engaged in hostilities against King John of England), his absence was well compensated, by the multitude of bishops and archbishops and their vassals which his dominions sent forth to it. There were, indeed, so many plunder-loving

adventurers gathered under the papal banner that in a few months their number exceeded one hundred thousand, in and around Lyons alone. The pope then organised his forces in detail ; appointed the archbishop of Sens, and the bishops of Autun and Clermont, to various commands, and Abbot Arnaud de Citeaux as commander-in-chief ; directing active operations to be commenced without loss of time. These events occurred in 1209, the same year that Frederick II., the famous Hohenstaufen, appeared for the first time on the world's stage.

The army at once marched on Toulouse, and on learning this, Count Raymond's courage sank ; against such overwhelming numbers, the resistance he could offer would but insure his inevitable ruin. He therefore immediately opened negotiations with the papal legates, and humbly entreated to be received again into the bosom of the church. The pope's representatives offered but hard conditions. The penitent must swear he had taken no part in the murder of Peter de Castelnau, that he would take up the cross against his own heretic subjects, and prove he was ready to submit fully and completely to the will of the pope, by at once delivering seven of his strongest castles to the crusading army. After making solemn oath to rest not until he had exterminated every heretic with fire and sword, the papal legate went through the ceremony of releasing him from the ban, a ceremony humiliating enough in all its details. Bound fast with a rope, he was led by the proud priest nine times round the grave of the murdered Petrus, and nine times stricken on the bare shoulders with rods. Thus Raymond was delivered

from the anathema, and his example was followed in every particular by his kinsman and vassal, the Viscount of Narbonne and Foix. Another kinsman, the Vicomte Raymond de Beziers, Albi and Carcassone, was less fortunate; for though he expressed complete willingness to submit himself to the papal will, the pope paid no regard thereto; Raymond Roger had no crowned heads among his relatives; he was but a petty baron, and an example was deemed desirable.

The Crusaders marched upon the town of Beziers, within which the count and his adherents had enclosed themselves. He defended his position bravely, and the burghers and country people from the neighbourhood, amounting in all to seventy thousand souls, devoted themselves to his cause with the courage of despair. But despite all these efforts, on the 22nd of July, 1209, the enemy took the town by storm; and then ensued a spectacle we cannot recall, even at this distance of time, without a shudder. The knights crusaders consulted the Legate Milo and Abbot Arnaud, in what manner it behoved them to treat the inhabitants, as there were many Catholics among them, whom it would be difficult to distinguish. "Kill all, the Lord will know his own," replied the ministers of the Prince of Peace; and then began one of the most revolting massacres the world ever witnessed. Old and young, men and women, Catholic and Albigensian, all were murdered.

In the church of Sainte Marie Magdalene, in which Catholics especially had sought refuge, seven thousand victims were burnt. Sixty thousand in all died within the city. A few persons, Count Raymond Roger among

the number, contrived to save themselves by flight. Several thousands who had survived the first slaughter succeeding the storm, and knelt to entreat mercy of the conquerors, were all ruthlessly butchered. The pen refuses to relate all the barbarities of the story, the burning houses, women violated, the wild riot and plunder; and we gladly turn from it, merely adding, that the monks who accompanied the army, gathered in the market place during the sack and massacre, to sing a hymn of thanksgiving to God.

A thrill of horror passed through all Europe when the particulars of this victory were bruited abroad. Innocent III., and his devoted clergy, however, rejoiced with an exceeding joy, for, lo! "the beginning of the end of heresy had dawned." But this beginning, triumphant as it was, was not alone sufficient, and the Crusaders then marched on Carcassone, to prepare for it a like fate. Happily the greater number of the inhabitants had taken flight, and only a few thousands could be delivered to the sword and the flames. As some compensation, Vicomte Raymond Roger was secured there, and though pardon had been solemnly promised him, he was soon despatched to the other world. The Crusaders then went their way, burning every village and castle within the territories of the vicomte, and consigning catholics and heretics to the same fate, as it were, for mere devilish diversion; indeed, the whole army was but a horde of assassins, robbers, and incendiaries. Then growing sated with their orgie of blood, they separated, and so spread over the country; but there was now scarce anything left to be destroyed.

This disbanding of the Crusaders could not be prevented, as they had only taken service for a campaign of ninety days ; yet Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, who had secured the territories of the murdered vicomte, Raymond Roger, under feudal tenure from the pope, retained a considerable number in his pay, and with them remained the papal legate, and the greater number of the bishops and ecclesiastical dignitaries who had accompanied the orthodox standard. The object proposed was the establishment of a lasting rule by death and terror throughout the south of France, and to make the new Montfort vicomté the central point whence heresy in the surrounding districts might be watched for and suppressed. Indeed, thenceforth for many centuries the war between Catholicism and heresy never ceased, though it was carried out on a less imposing scale. The guardians of the orthodox faith contenting themselves with occasionally falling on this or that little community, and summarily exterminating it with fire and sword.

The legate's chief attention, in pursuance of his master's instructions, was for the time devoted to Count Raymond ; for though since his release from the ban the unfortunate noble had never omitted constant and munificent presents to the church, yet he showed a sore lack of zeal in the persecution of heresy in his domains, and Pope Innocent felt assured the only effectual means of dealing with the evil throughout the south of France, was by getting rid of Raymond, and his whole house. Therefore the count was summoned in 1210, before the legate once again, to answer a second charge of

backsliding from the faith. The count appeared; and as he could *not prove* he had driven away or killed all the heretics in Toulouse, excommunication was again pronounced on him, and another crusade preached against the Albigenes.

A new army was soon gathered together, and Simon de Montfort received the chief command from the pope. Cities and castles were stormed again, new thousands of Waldenses or Katherians consigned to the flames. Then Count Raymond, in despair, applied to his lord suzerain, King Phillip of France, for justice against the church, even appealed to the emperor of Germany, and the two monarchs took up the matter with sufficient zeal, that they brought Pope Innocent to enter into negotiations with the count. Innocent III.'s proposals were to the effect, that:—"Raymond VI. should be left in the peaceful enjoyment of his domains, so soon as he had delivered them from the heretics, and confiscated their possessions." The count could not consent to this, or he must have proceeded against more than a half of his vassals; and so the pope came to a complete rupture with him.

A synod was summoned at Arles (1211), when Raymond was declared to have forfeited all rank and dignities. His excommunication then followed; and an interdict was finally laid on his land. Simon de Montfort marched into Toulouse at the head of a great army, burning and destroying all before him, and murdering catholics and heretics with like impartiality. No one was spared in the devoted city; and, amid fierce yells

of triumph, thousands of victims were offered up to the flames. The count remained in Toulouse, and the archbishop endeavoured to incite the catholic inhabitants to insurrection; but the insurrection ended in a very unforeseen catastrophe. The heretical part of the population still spared, united together in the so-called "Black troop," summoned all their forces, and drove the archbishop and his catholics (called the "White troop," from the white cross they had assumed) out of the town. Still the host of the crusaders grew ever larger, and pressed ever more heavily on Count Raymond and his people. The count addressed himself to Don Pedro of Arragon; represented to him how the pope was much rather intent on making himself lord suzerain over the temporal powers, than for the preservation of church doctrine. Pedro interceded with the pope, and demanded a truce to hostilities. Innocent replied, that the protector of a heretic was as bad as the heretic himself, and threatened the king with excommunication for meddling. Raymond's position seemed still more desperate; but Don Pedro was not to be deterred by threats, and led an army against the crusaders. The two forces met at Muret, in 1213, but the victory was on the side of the pope, and the king of Arragon died on the field of battle. Again Count Raymond was left quite friendless; and to avoid captivity he fled with his son from the land of his fathers.

Simon de Montfort marched in triumph on the city of Toulouse; and after a hard-contested, but brief struggle with the inhabitants, in which the greater number of

the defenders perished, found himself absolute master of the whole land ; and in recognition of his services, Innocent III. forthwith made him count of Toulouse.

The new government was established amid horrors too fearful for recapitulation here ; and soon a total change fell on the whole province. Whoever was suspected of heresy, or rather denounced as a heretic, was at once seized and executed ; and all the landowners, *i.e.*, petty barons and knights, who had not fallen in battle, fled, terror-stricken, to other countries,—the church seizing their domains and bestowing them in fief on the adventurers in Montfort's train.

Thus things proceeded for three years ; and the dread inspired by such a system grew so great, that all the inhabitants still left alive in the villages and towns around, thenceforth exhibited every appearance of the most devout orthodoxy, whilst burning to avenge their wrongs on Simon de Montfort. Suddenly, in 1217, Count Raymond and his young son appeared in the country at the head of a small body of devoted adherents. The whole population received him with rapture ; and Simon de Montfort found himself placed in a position of considerable difficulty. He made it good to the best of his power ; but died the following year before the walls of Toulouse, which had once more rebelled against him. His pretensions were inherited by his son, Amaury, who had, however, but small share of his father's talents ; and though supported by an army of crusaders, could not maintain himself against the legitimate ruler, especially after the death of Raymond VI., 1222. The orthodoxy of Raymond VII., son and successor of Ray-

mond VI., was beyond question ; so the church could have no ground of quarrel against him.

Amaury finding his cause grow constantly more desperate, finally turned to the king of France, in 1224, offering to renounce Toulouse in his favour, in consideration of a certain annual pension. Louis VIII. thereupon declared war against Raymond VII., but died shortly afterwards ; and his successor, Louis IX., concluded a treaty with him, by which it was agreed the latter should retain his territories during his life, but that at his death they were to devolve to the crown of France, with the exception of the comté of Venaissin, to which the pope, naturally anxious to get some share of the spoils, now laid claim.

So ended the Albigensian war, during which upwards of one hundred thousand heretics had been burnt to death or slaughtered ; though more than thrice that number of persons in all must have perished in it.

Heresy was suppressed in the south of France : it was annihilated completely, or, at least to all outward appearance, annihilated. Some traces, indeed, might, perhaps, linger in men's secret hearts ; some few of the forcibly converted might affectionately recal the simple teaching of former times : but no man dared confess so openly. It was even possible that heretical writings, though concealed from the world, might be still carefully preserved, to be produced at some future day ; and as these things were possible, so Pope Innocent III. resolved, they should no longer remain so. "All heretical writings," such was the decree he now issued, "shall be destroyed ; all heretical thoughts be hushed in silence ;" and to this effect he established a special

institution,—an organised authority ;—the so-called Inquisition, whose purpose was to forcibly crush out every thought which could come in conflict with the church and the papacy. As the Holy Office has occupied us already to the full extent our space permits, we must here confine ourselves to a brief indication of its action in the present juncture of affairs.

Certain Dominicans, especially chosen in Toulouse for dealing with the heretics, established a tribunal there, which, in a short time, became a terror for the whole south of France. Their agents were in every city, every village, entered every house ; and whoever neglected Sunday mass, or exhibited any peculiarity in his manner of life, was at once denounced as a heretic by them, and consigned to prison. The slightest indication of discontent, or want of lively interest in the labours of the Holy Office, at once brought the offender under its authority ; and if any one who might be cited for the purpose refused to give evidence against a suspected person, the denial involved participation in his punishment. The fate of an accused person might always be considered as fixed before any form of trial had been gone through, for he would inevitably be condemned to perpetual imprisonment, or to the last penalty of ecclesiastical law—death at the stake.

Torture was systematically employed to obtain confession, and it was in every case again and again repeated until the desired admissions had been procured. Possibly, the judges of the Inquisition would have acknowledged that by this means hundreds of innocent people might suffer before the real culprit was reached ;

but what mattered ! “ It was but the mortal part of man that was martyred and destroyed, the soul was not injured ; or, by the very sufferings of its fleshly tabernacle, it became the better fitted for eternal salvation.” When once this system had been got into full activity, the prisons soon proved incapable of containing the multitude of their occupants, for, by the above doctrines, any one, even the most orthodox, might be submitted to the tribunal merely at the arbitrary will of the accuser. “ Will ” failed not, nor could it fail ; for every accused person was at once deprived of his possessions. The Inquisition appointed special officials, entitled “ *Receptatores bonorum publicatorum*,” who were charged with the administration of such property for the benefit of the church. Thus it is at once evident the richer classes would receive by far the greater share of inquisitorial attention, and were far more exposed to persecution than their poorer neighbours. Besides, many accusations were brought from private malice or revenge ; and as evidence was never refused, though offered by persons of the most notorious lives or mental incapacity, persons who even in those days would not have been accepted as witnesses in any public court of justice, but were gratefully welcomed by the Inquisition, which taught from every pulpit, in city and village, that denunciation of heresy was not only a right, but the most urgent duty. False evidence became notoriously frequent ; in short, no means were left untried to cure mankind of heretical ideas ; and imprisonment for life in the cloister or death at the stake at least imposed silence on all the guilty so provided for. Such was the spiritual disci-

pline meted to the inhabitants of the south of France. We have, indeed, given but an inadequate idea of it, for the persecutions were not yet over. In 1236, the chief judge of the heretic tribunal for Toulouse had five hundred men and women, who were merely suspected of heresy, buried alive. Pope Cœlestin IV. recalled the monster, but punished him only with a slight imprisonment. Under such conditions, the south of France might well seem strangely changed within a few years. The vengeance of the church was, however, still unsatisfied, it even extended beyond the grave: the bodies of deceased persons accused of heresy were disinterred, and cast out as carrion, the property they had left confiscated, their dwellings razed to the ground, their children driven forth penniless, to be shunned and forsaken by all men. The silence of the churchyard settled down on the once joyous land of Provence; it was as though the curse of God had fallen on it; but the popes triumphed—heresy was destroyed !*

* Possibly some of our readers may believe the iniquities of the Inquisition rest rather with the Dominicans than with the papacy; but it is not so; all the power held by the order, and through it by the Holy Office, was held in charge from the papal throne. A Bull of Pope Urban IV. (1261) emphatically warned the General of the order never to forget that the authority to persecute heresy did not necessarily reside in the order *per se*, but had been bestowed by the pope, and could therefore at any moment be withdrawn.

CHAPTER III.

THE PIONEERS OF THE REFORMATION.

AFTER the general destruction of the heretics in the south of France, a deadly terror seemed to settle down upon the world. Men felt that life, property, and honour were thenceforth to be placed at the mercy of the lightest whisper of malice, and for a long period no one was found daring enough to overstep the magic circle drawn around humanity by the fiat of Rome. Though here and there a solitary thinker still garnered up in the recesses of his heart the purer doctrines of the Waldensian martyrs, though in the lonely valleys of Piedmont a few communities, unknown to the world, still held to their earlier faith, whilst outwardly conforming to the Catholic ritual; yet, on the whole, Sacerdotium had gained a great victory, and throughout western Europe Rome might hope henceforth to absolutely dictate men's thoughts and spiritual aspirations. Of Christ, or the Christianity founded by Christ, no vestige was left visible in the world; it had been changed into a new faith—the Roman Catholic, which, like the heathenism of the Budhists, was founded wholly on supposititious miracles, relics, saints, purgatory, and

indulgences. The Christians of that age could not claim equal purity for their faith with that of Islam or Judaism, for both the latter, at least, denounced idol worship; and a council, in 1361, had found it necessary to remind Christians, in a spiritual edict, there were not many gods, but only One God. The whole demon world of the north had been merged into the religion of Rome, and superstition, ignorance, and mental deterioration so increased, that many persons in their disgust adopted the faith of the Old Testament, the doctrines of Mohammed, or utterly denied God and immortality. Not a few sought refuge in ancient paganism, declaring that in that at least some virtue was still to be found,* whilst among Christians, and Christian priests especially, there was nothing but vice, iniquity, and barbarism;† in short, there was imminent danger; the whole

* Such paganised Christians existed in the dioceses of Mayence, Bremen, Trèves, Cologne, Saltzburg, but still more (according to the Bull of Pope John XXII.) were to be found in Italy. There the old heathen divinities were again brought forth; men again prayed to them, and declared they would have no part in the Christian church or its ministers. Nor need we imagine the number of these revivalists was very small; it, indeed, so much increased, that the same Pope John, anno 1322, instituted a crusade against the unbelievers, during which the town of Recanati was levelled with the ground. Nor was it poor and ignorant people only who were included among them, for we find Frederico, lord of Monteferrato, at the head of the movement.

† In what concerns the latter charge, Clemengis (who wrote in the fourteenth century) says in his work, 'De ruina Ecclesiæ,' "anything more iniquitous and contemptible could not be than the present condition of the priesthood, and were it not for their effrontery, they would die for very shame. The whole profession is alike in this; for if among a thousand one just man doth assume the priestly robes, in but a little while he groweth as debauched, extravagant, and wicked as the others. It is as though a dire spell had fallen on the whole sacerdo-

fabric of Christianity would collapse ; the church seemed to have become the chosen dwelling place of the great enemy of mankind ; and many were those who cried, " If God lives, if Christianity is true, so is it impossible that this herd of priests should still carry on their iniquities with impunity, day after day, through succeeding years." But, miserable as was the spiritual condition of men, so miserable that many of the most conscientious saw no resource but in some new faith which should replace Christianity, yet from their very despair came the regeneration of the church, when at length a few discovered that this Christianity was no Christianity at all, and thus made possible a return to apostolic purity of creed.

The first who thus took up the work of regeneration were the

1.—SPIRITUALISTS AND THEIR FELLOW-REFORMERS.

The Franciscan order professed, as we have already seen, to subsist wholly on the alms of the faithful, and thus typify in their own lives true apostolic poverty. But this poverty of the Franciscans came to a very premature end ; we find Bonaventura, the second General of the Order, complaining that, fifty years after its first installation, it was as rich as any of the existing fraternities. The pious brothers, indeed, never renounced

tium. If we, finally, regard the condition of the monasteries, we find them the lurking places of fleshly lust ; and to invest a virgin with the veil, is equal to making her a harlot." So declared Clemengis ; and we may hence conclude his contemporaries were but too well justified in maintaining that under the Christian priesthood "vice, iniquity, and barbarism" reigned supreme.

mendicancy, and constantly advertised their pauperism ; but they contrived to wear sumptuous garments, lived on the fat of the land, bought handsome steeds, rejoiced in pleasant gardens, lent money at profitable usury, and, in a word, made their profession so satisfactory, that they were an object of envy to the other orders. Yet, strange to say, there were still some among them who held fast to their first founder's rule : that as the Lord and his apostles had possessed nothing in this world, they also should gather up no earthly wealth ; and though the great majority had long renounced such ideas, the enthusiasts for poverty remained firmly attached to their convictions, the more so as they constituted the best protest against the contempt with which the world at large regarded the inmates of a cloister. An open rupture soon became inevitable between them and their richer brethren, and, under the pontificate of Clement V. (1305-16), the order finally separated into two. Those who devoted themselves to an ascetic life, abandoned the magnificent dwellings of their brethren, and formed a distinct society under the title of "Fratres de Spiritualitate (Brothers in the Spirit)." The others, who understood "apostolic poverty" less strictly, were distinguished as "Fratres de Communitate (Brothers of the greater Community)." Clement V. greatly desired to close the strife, and to this end issued a special Bull in 1312, but all his efforts proved in vain. The rivalry, indeed, grew ever fiercer, so that it gave John XXII., Clement's successor, matter for serious anxiety. The doctrine that Christ and his apostles having possessed nothing, all those who would follow in their steps

should also renounce all worldly gear, was little satisfactory to him. He therefore issued a Bull, in 1322, to proclaim that apostolic perfection "consisteth not in poverty, but in love;" and, further, by a second Bull, in the same year, declared it rank heresy to hold that Christ and his apostles had possessed nothing. Some time later, towards the close of 1323, he officially announced the apostles had taken no vow of poverty, and that such a vow neither sanctifies faith nor life. All this he did, doubtless, not because the "Fratres de Spiritualitate" were good or bad, lived sumptuously or frugally, but because their doctrine, "that he who would follow the Lord, ought to lay no store by the things of this world," would necessarily undermine the whole basis of the papacy. For this reason it was he determined to impose silence on these schismatic spiritualists, whose views much too nearly accorded with those of the Waldenses. Unhappily, the Bull produced the very opposite of the effect intended. The enthusiastic monks declared, in their turn, the papal assertions heretical, and filled the whole world with their clamour; at length going so far as to assert the papal dogma of supremacy over the Christian world was arch heresy. Thenceforth there was no mercy for the spiritualists. The Inquisition was charged with bringing all its powers against them, and they met the fate that in those days awaited all dissentients from the church. A few, with the famous Michael Cæsana among the number, succeeded in making good their escape to Kaiser Ludwig the Bavarian, then at war with the pope; but still more were seized and burnt at the stake. Strangely enough,

among the latter unfortunates but one recanted ; but as his sole reward was a life-long captivity, none cared after him to court such questionable mercy. Multitudes of the victims went with even signs of rejoicing to their doom, and gladly welcomed chains and torture for conscience sake. In a few years there were no more spiritualists left among the Franciscans. The Inquisition had effectually rooted them out. But the spirit which produced the heresy was not to be so destroyed. It continued to exist, now under one, now under some other form. Thus it is we hear of "Flagellatores," or Brothers of the Scourge ; "Pastorales," Followers of Apostolic Doctrine ; of "Fratricelli," Christian Brothers ; of "Beguins" and "Begards," Begging Brothers and Sisters, or Brothers and Sisters of Repentance ; of "Lollards," "Turlupins," "Picards," "Adamites," &c. However various their designations appear, there was a general resemblance in their main doctrines, all, doubtless, derived from the Spiritualists. This is especially illustrated in the Beguins and Fraticelli by their names : Fraticelli is but an Italian translation of "Fratres Minores" of the Franciscans : Begard or Beguin is derived from the old Saxon *began*, *biggan* (to beg). We see the fact, however, most strikingly in the dogma adopted by each ; that dogma, namely, that nothing but complete apostolic poverty could render the attainment of Christian perfection possible. They, like the Spiritualists, promised the Kingdom of God to "apostolic poverty," so that the dominant church inevitably appeared to them as a carnal institution, despicable by

its very nature ; and they alike renounced its priests, prelates, and pope.*

Such a dogma, though not openly proclaimed, could not be tolerated by the papacy ; and the Holy Inquisition was, therefore, commanded to do its duty against these sects, as it had once before, when the Waldenses were concerned. The Inquisition accepted the charge with zealous satisfaction ; and then, wherever the heterodox opinions had found proselytes, fire and faggot appeared for their confutation. In 1354, under Pope Innocent VI., nine persons were thus disposed of at Avignon ; John de Chatillon among the number. But, notwithstanding the papal fiat and Dominican zeal, in the fourteenth century orthodoxy complained, that in all the countries of Europe, and even beyond Europe, into Armenia, the land swarmed with Fraticelli, Beguins, and other heretics. Several synods,—that of Narbonne, 1374, especially,—declared that heresy would never cease until all “ Apostols ” (those who, in imitation of the apostles, wandered from place to place, begging and teaching) were delivered over unto the death. The wrath of the church was, indeed, at last fully awakened ; and the wandering brothers, who, under the cover of

* It is remarkable that every orthodox writer of the time accuses all these sects, without exception, but the Adamites especially, of great licentiousness. At a certain moment, they tell us, at the nightly religious meeting of the latter, all the lights were put out, a practice resulting in the most notorious scandals. In like manner, the Begards, at Cologne, were said to have a subterranean Paradise, devoted to the grossest orgies of debauchery. If there was any truth in these accusations, or if they were mere calumnies, we have now no means of deciding.

primitive Christian simplicity, spread disaffection to Rome, were exposed to the most relentless persecution. A crusade was even preached against them; and in 1406 a bishop of Vercelli placed himself at the head of a considerable army for the destruction of the two heretical preachers, Dulcinus and Gerhardus Sagarelli, of Parma, and their adherents,—killing every human creature found in the Novarra highlands, near the source of the Tessin. In a word, the church employed the full weight of its arms, spiritual and temporal, to suppress the movement. If it quite succeeded, however, we may well doubt; for it is known, that when Luther inaugurated the Reformation, there were still many Fraticelli and Begards existing.

Of no less influence than the heresy of the spiritualists, or even of still greater, were the doctrines of

II.—JOHN WICKLIFFE,

Called, not unjustly, the English Luther.

John Wickliffe was born at Richmond, in Yorkshire, in the reign of King Edward II., 1324, and devoted himself to the study of theology from his earliest youth. He possessed, together with remarkable energy of character, great mental acumen, and soon felt the degradation into which the church and religion had fallen. His peculiarly logical mind naturally led him to investigate whether catholicism, the sole officially-accepted creed of that age, were justified in its pretensions; and he was thus impelled onward to the study of the source of

Christianity,—the Bible. The name of the “Doctor Evangelicus,” soon generally accorded him, will best indicate the direction of his labours.

Some time seems to have elapsed before he gave free vent to his later and boldest opinions; for it was not until 1360 that he excited public attention. He was at that time a tutor at Merton College, Oxford; and as then the Franciscan (thanks to papal patronage) engrossed nearly every university chair, and distinguished themselves by a scarcely conceivable arrogance,—even asserting mankind owed more to their Order than to Christ himself,—Wickliffe put forth a pamphlet against these assumptions, in which he made evident the vast difference between the Saviour of mankind and the followers of St. Francis. But he did not stand alone in the attack thus commenced; he had the support of Bishop Nicholas of Hereford, Fitz Ralph, primate of England, and the learned Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, whose blows told as effectually on the enemy as his own. Many of the laity adopted the views of the Evangelical Doctor, for Englishmen had too much inherent independence to yield completely to the papal yoke. English kings had defended themselves from of old against the encroachments of Rome; and full provocation they had for doing so. A chief cause of the royal discontent was in the extravagant pecuniary pretensions of the popes, who contrived, with Peter’s pence and the sale of church preferments, to draw thrice as much money from the kingdom as that constituting the royal revenue; and even carried their shamelessness so

far, that all the richer benefices in the English church were filled by their Italian tools and favourites.*

Thus we may easily imagine serious differences frequently arose; and at the moment Wickliffe was inducted into a chair at Oxford, the battle was raging at its fiercest.

The brave soldier and clear-headed monarch, Edward III., was king at the time; and he not only banished, by fair means or foul, every foreign priest who held church preferment in the kingdom, but positively refused to sanction the tribute, or Peter's pence, persistently demanded by Pope Urban V. The pope, of course, angrily protested, declared religion in danger, and threatened the ban; but the king assembled his Parliament, and the nobles and commons of England promised not only to oppose the pope with all their power, but make the cause of the king their own, and stand or fall with him.

Thus the ground was prepared in the most favourable manner for Wickliffe, and the more so, since in the struggle between the crown and the tiara, or rather between the rights of the English nation and the pretensions of Rome, he at once took his stand on the popular side. King Edward, and still more Edward's great

* In 1232, the English nobility formed a league to forcibly expel all Italian ecclesiastics sent by the pope to take possession of wealthy English benefices. King Edward I. acted still more to the purpose, when he published a law by which the church was prohibited from enjoying any bequests or making any purchase of landed property without the express sanction of the king; whilst priests were in future to contribute in the same ratio to the public burdens as the laity. He, moreover, prohibited the payment of Peter's pence, and admitted no Italian prelate, provided with a papal letter of presentation, into the land.

brother, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, took Wickliffe under their protection. He was then appointed to the rectory of Lutterworth, and made a doctor of theology; and even came into diplomatic communication with the pope, when, in 1373, he represented one of the chief personages in an embassy sent to Gregory XI. His Holiness endeavoured, by flattery and promises, to win over the English reformer; but the character of the Avignon court, the utter demoralization of the higher dignitaries of the church, appear to have completely nullified any favourable result which might else have been possible, and to have still more enlightened the already too acute mind of Wickliffe. He publicly declared, both from the pulpit and in his writings, that the priesthood had become a mass of foulness and corruption, and preached mere lies and fables to the people, wherein lingered not even a semblance of truth. He denounced the pope, as "antichrist," and the great prelates as the sons of antichrist; and maintained that the pretensions of the high priests of Rome "to temporal power and dignity, were totally unfounded in right." His language, bold as it was, found favour in the eyes of the English king and his barons, for both would long since have gladly thrown off the claims of the hierarchy: a still deeper effect was produced by it on the English people, who enlisted in great numbers on Wickliffe's side; his party included several of the Oxford theological professors: Nicholas Hereford, Reppyndon, John Ashton, and many other not less famous men. The Romanists, that is the adherents of the pope, loudly protested; and Gregory IX. declared John Wickliffe's doc-

trines, set forth under nineteen heads, as heretical, and called on the king and the university of Oxford to commence legal proceedings against the chief offender, and at once consign him to prison.

But neither the university (where Wickliffe's friends were in a great majority), nor the king, paid any heed to the order, and the proud archbishop of Canterbury, who represented the head of the Romanist faction, could imagine no better course than to summon Wickliffe before an assembly of bishops, convened within St. Paul's Cathedral, to sit in judgment on him. Wickliffe appeared at the appointed time, but not alone: the great John of Gaunt accompanied him, and Earl Percy of Northumberland, with many knights, nobles, and a great body of citizens. The proceedings commenced in due form; but when their graces, the bishops, by the mouth of their colleague, William of London, would have pronounced sentence of excommunication on the accused, the citizens, the devoted partisans of Wickliffe, made so violent a clamour, that in very fear of his life bishop William broke up the court, before any decision had been arrived at. The affair, however, was not yet over; a few months later a second convocation met at Lambeth Palace, Wickliffe again appearing, and again with John of Gaunt, Earl Percy, Lord Clifford, and other powerful friends, in his company. Moreover, all the citizens of London were as devoted to him as ever, and the second meeting of their graces ended with no other result than the first.

These events occurred in 1377. King Edward died before the year closed; but Wickliffe enjoyed the same

protection under his successor, Richard II. Gregory, too, expired in March, 1378; and then commenced, as we have seen, the great church schism—a Pope Urban VI. in Avignon, a Pope Clement VII. at Rome. The whole world divided by their rival pretensions into opposite factions; so that when England formally recognised Pope Urban VI., the latter found it necessary to quietly ignore the Wickliffe heresy, fearing else so important an ally might go over to Pope Clement VII. Wickliffe was, therefore, left at peace, and could devote himself to the dissemination and perfection of his doctrines. It was soon known his missionaries had spread over all England, teaching every where the “crying need of a radical reformation in the Roman church, a reformation that must be inaugurated by depriving the clergy of all temporal power.” To this doctrine King Richard II. and his barons devoutly cried, Amen.

But more than by any abstract doctrine was Wickliffe’s followers multiplied, by the fact, that he now commenced the translation of the Bible into English, concluding his part of the work in 1383. The laity were thus enabled to compare the simplicity of primitive Christianity with contemporary Catholicism, and in doing so, subject the latter to a very trying ordeal,* or, rather, to inevitable refutation in many points of its

* Wickliffe did not translate the whole of the Scriptures, only the New Testament, and certain books of the Old, the remaining portion being accomplished by John of Treviso in 1387. How great an influence the mere translation of the Gospels had on the people, we have abundant evidence, especially in a plaintive letter written by a contemporary of Wickliffe’s—Knighton, the chronicler—who cries with horror, that “womyn do now grow more versed in the New Testament than learned clerks.”

doctrine. How great the divergence between the teaching of the Founder of Christianity, and his self-styled vicegerent really was, became first glaringly evident, and a great many placed themselves on Wickliffe's side, even when his views on the chief points of dogma grew heretical. Among these we may include his renunciation of the doctrine of transubstantiation; on which, indeed, great part of priestly authority was based. For he who could create the body and blood of Christ, was necessarily to be honoured more than common mortality.

We can readily believe the whole priesthood cried rank heresy; and even the doctors of the University of Oxford, and their chancellor, William de Burton, felt the ecclesiastical dignity so insulted, they prohibited their colleague from partaking of the sacrament, under pain of excommunication. Wickliffe, nothing daunted, addressed a petition (1382) to King Richard and the Parliament, in which he earnestly insisted on the need of a thorough reformation in the church, from the imminent peril that the vices and false doctrines of its priesthood would involve the world in complete ruin; further showing that in the wealth of the clergy lay the root of their simony and heresy, contentions, and forgetfulness of God's Word. The Parliament took the petition into consideration; the Commons declared themselves in its favour; but the Lords, where the bishops had chief influence, condemned the petitioner as a heretic.

The king sided with the upper house, the archbishop of Canterbury having then great power with him, and without regard to the opinion expressed by the representatives of the nation, he issued a decree, July, 1382,

by which "those heretics, John Wickliffe, John Ashton, Nicholas Hereford, and Philip Reppyndon, were ordered to be seized, and brought before the archbishop of Canterbury." Ashton, Hereford, and Reppyndon, penitently, or rather for fear of death, consented to recant. Wickliffe neither yielded himself up, nor was he seized; and the Commons protested so manfully against the royal edict, that Richard awakened to the folly of persecuting a man who had been the champion of the crown against the pope and the papacy, and thereupon annulled the decree, and took the arch heretic again under his protection. Urban cited him before the judgment seat at Rome; but Wickliffe did not care to quit Lutterworth, and as the pope had no power to drive him thence, for the king would not countenance his persecution, Wickliffe, from that time, remained at peace in his village, dying in 1384, in the act of ascending the pulpit stairs, deeply regretted by his own parish, and the whole kingdom.

We, of course, cannot enter at length into Wickliffe's doctrines; for our present purpose it is enough that he adopted the same basis as the later reformers, deriving his belief from the Scriptures alone. "There is no authority," he asserted, "above, or co-equal with the Holy Scriptures, and we have no Mediator but the Lord and Saviour." In short, his teaching closely resembled that of Luther and Zwingli in after years; denouncing saint worship, the dogmas of transubstantiation, purgatory, the seven sacraments, priestly consecration, and especially that of papal supremacy; his heresy was thus of so flagrant a character, that nothing

but the protection of the king and the parliament saved him from death at the stake.

The protection he enjoyed greatly aided the dissemination of his doctrines, so that within a brief period they spread through the length and breadth of the land. His disciples and adherents, John Perney, John Parker, Robert Swinderly, Walter Disse (formerly a Carmelite friar, who openly laid bare the vices and abominations practised in the monasteries), preached openly against Catholicism. If any of the bishops laid violent hands on the schismatics, the temporal power at once came to the offender's rescue, and secured his complete impunity. For example: the bishop of Lincoln, in 1389, seized a certain heretic, named William Swinderby, and would have summarily burnt him, when the duke of Lancaster rode off to the episcopal city, at the head of a band of retainers, and set the prisoner free. The archbishop of Canterbury had no better success in the case of Jacob Tailor and William Smeth, as the king himself commanded their liberation, and compelled the archbishop to remove the interdict, which, on their account, he had imposed on the city of Leicester. In short, Wickliffism spread so rapidly, that even the papal historian, Knighton, acknowledges that in those days, in England, it was impossible to find two men together, but that one of them was a Wickliffite.

This state of things had to be completely changed, if the papacy would avoid a very serious reverse. The pestilent doctrines of Wickliffe were at any cost to be uprooted, though the road to that end lay over the body of a king. The Romanists saw clearly that

so long as Richard II. wore the crown, nothing would be done against the heretics, therefore they determined, as no other means offered, to remove him by a revolution. Richard was childless; but he had four uncles, Lionel, Lancaster, York, and Gloucester, brothers of his dead father, and, therefore, if he died without a direct heir, Roger Mortimer, eldest son of Lionel (Duke Lionel had died some time before), would legally claim the throne. But Roger was not a man such as the Catholic party demanded; he was still more liberal in his religious views than his cousin the king, so Henry Bolingbroke, the eldest son of the duke of Lancaster, became the chosen candidate, for the sufficient reason that he offered the most complete contrast to all his father had been, and they had every hope he would justify the anticipations founded in him. Thomas Arundel, the deadly enemy of King Richard, from the latter having executed the archbishop's brother for high treason, and who had held the see of Canterbury since 1396, was the immediate director of the plot. Henry Bolingbroke, dazzled by the promise of a crown, let himself be won over but too easily by the crafty priest, who then, with the other partisans of the papacy, took all the measures to ensure the success of the great conspiracy. Richard had lost the respect of his barons and the English nation by his profusion, and weakness for wine and women. To recruit his exchequer he had recourse to acts of spoliation, of which the citizens of London especially had been the victims, whilst he gave precedence over the greatest nobles of the kingdom to the detested favourite, Robert Vere, earl of Oxford.

These circumstances were well employed by Arundel to win over a great part of the aristocracy to his plans, but Richard suddenly got wind of the projected treason, and in the autumn of 1399 banished both the archbishop and Bolingbroke from the kingdom. He hoped thus to put an end to any further troubles in that quarter, and, towards the close of the same year, crossed over to Ireland, then in insurrection. But scarcely had the king crossed the channel, than Arundel, in defiance of the sentence of banishment, hastened to London, conferred with the great nobles, his previous confederates, and then hurried off to Duke Henry at Paris to induce him, on the faith of the assurances he brought, to lose no time in reaching English soil. All went well for the conspirators. On the 4th of July Henry landed in England, and the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland at once joined his standard; he was soon at the head of sixty thousand men. Richard returned from Ireland, and as he also had a powerful army, the coming struggle might well have seemed of doubtful issue. Thanks to the treacherous offices of the archbishop, Richard accorded an interview to his smooth-tongued cousin, who, for the nonce, expressed the most devoted and loyal sentiments. The interview took place in August, 1399, and closed by Henry's seizing the person of his too-confiding cousin, and forthwith consigning him to Flint castle, and then to the Tower of London. There, Richard II. was forced to renounce his crown, and was soon after sent to a dungeon in Pontefract castle, where he finally died by slow starvation.

The Romanists had once more triumphed. Henry of

Lancaster mounted the throne as Henry IV., and made Thomas Arundel, the devout papist and persecutor of the Wickliffites, his chief adviser. What followed may easily be imagined: "extermination of heretics, and nothing but extermination of heretics," became the chief object of the archbishop's thoughts. At first a certain degree of precaution was used in proceeding with the work, for fear, probably, of exciting an insurrection, and the priesthood contented itself with imprisoning offenders, and forcing them to recantation; but, soon, bolder steps followed, and the king was induced to inaugurate measures of the true Inquisitorial type. Magistrates and persons in the service of the crown were directed to seize all heretics and deliver them to the bishops of their respective dioceses. To secure the carrying out these commands with greater facility, certain indications were specified, by which heretics might be identified. "All persons shall be so regarded," so runs the decree, "who bow not before the holy pictures, or fail to kiss them, who make no sign of reverence when a procession passes, or who do not kneel before the cross, who possess a Bible in the English tongue, listen to it when read by another, or have acquaintance with persons possessing a Bible; who frequent suspected persons, hear not mass every week, speak disrespectfully of a priest, or exhibit by any outward sign that the Roman Catholic church is not supreme over all earthly things to him." Such "indications" sufficiently prove how easy it must have been to fall under suspicion, whilst it was still easier from a suspected to become a proven heretic, for there was no lack, on the papal side,

of torture and false evidence. By 1401 the faggots were set blazing throughout the country in the cause of orthodoxy; the first victim was a person named Savoutre. A multitude of others followed him, and the system of denunciation acquired such frightful proportions, that no friend dared trust his friend, nor neighbour his neighbour—no man his closest kindred. The imprisonment of an accused person brought the confiscation of his property, and the third of the spoil went to the informer. But with the mere burning and the spoliation of the heretics the church was not satisfied. A fierce raid was instituted against the writings on which heresy was based, especially against the translation of the Bible, every copy of which that could be found was burnt in the same solemn manner as its readers. Even the dead found no mercy. In 1412 the body of Wickliffe was disinterred, burnt, and the ashes scattered to the winds; but this last outrage tried the temper of the English people beyond the point of longer endurance, and the House of Commons demanded from the king that he should mitigate the severity of the penal laws in this matter of heresy. The energetic attitude assumed by the Commons was not without some effect; but as the Lords as firmly opposed any change, the persecutions, 1413, were renewed in all their former intensity, and a great many Wickliffites, some highly distinguished men among the number, suffered a martyr's death, very few stooping to save their lives by recantation. Thus things proceeded whilst Henry IV. lived, and even under his son Henry V. no sensible change took place, as the fate of Lord Cobham

too well proves. Lord Cobham was a powerful baron, and even a personal friend of the king; but he became obnoxious to the priesthood, not only by his own heterodoxy, but by giving shelter and countenance to the Wickliffites upon his domains. He was cited by the archbishop of Canterbury to appear before the archiepiscopal tribunal; he did not obey, and the primate at once called on the king to seize the person of the offender. The king proved docile, Lord Cobham was captured, and brought up before the archbishop of Canterbury in St. Paul's Cathedral. The trial closed in the excommunication of the prisoner, after which ceremony he was delivered over to the temporal power, to be burnt at the stake. The sentence, however, could not be so immediately fulfilled; the king hesitated to put so powerful a vassal to death, and having consigned him to the Tower, allowed him fifty days for reflection and recantation. Lord Cobham contrived to escape from his prison, and sought safety in his good castle of Comlynny, where he soon gathered a considerable body of adherents devoted to his cause. The king took the field in person against the fugitive, defeated him utterly, and caused all his retainers (many thousand in number), suspected of Wickliffism, to be summarily hung or burnt. Lord Cobham, with a handful of brave followers, made his way to the highlands of Scotland, where they wandered about from place to place, exposed to the greatest hardships and misery. He, also, was secured at last, and brought to London. Then were the rejoicings great in the camp of the Romanists, and it was resolved to carry out the sentence against him

with every aggravation that cruelty could suggest. He was hung head downward, from an iron gallows, and a slow fire lighted beneath, that he might thus smoulder gradually to death.

In such wise did the priesthood act against the followers of Wickliffe; yet, despite this terrible severity, it still seemed impossible to uproot the heresy; for we find again, in 1457, various condemnations to the stake—the best proof that the evangelical faith in England still maintained itself, though it was in secret.

III.—JOHN HUSS AND HIERONYMUS OF PRAGUE.

What Wickliffe was for England, that was John Huss and his friend, Hieronymus, for Bohemia. Huss was born in 1373, at Hussiniecz, near Prachaticz, in the south of Bohemia, and pursued a course of theological and philosophical study at the university of Prague, where he was maintained by his feudal lord, the Seigneur of Hussiniecz. At twenty-three years of age he was made a master of theology, then became a tutor at the above university, and in 1402 was appointed preacher at the Bethlehem chapel at Prague. His eloquence soon made him famous, so that the queen of Bohemia, Sophia, consort of King Wenzel, appointed him her confessor; and this honour, and still more the ability exhibited in his lectures at the university, soon made his name known throughout the country.

About this time, 1408, he became acquainted with Hieronymus Faulfish, who, after a prolonged residence in England, had just returned to his native city, Prague, to lecture at the university. The friendship thus formed

was of great influence on the after life of Huss. Hieronymus, a young man of singular intelligence, had, thanks to his parent's wealth, been enabled to fully indulge his tastes for learning, successively studying at Paris, Cologne, Heidelberg, and Oxford; at the latter place taking his degree as master of arts and bachelor of divinity. His chief attention at Oxford appears to have been given to the writings of the Wickliffe school; for, on his return to Prague, he might with perfect justice have been regarded as a thorough heretic; whilst he awakened in Huss, soon his fast friend, a strong desire to penetrate the spirit of the Gospel, and reform the church upon Wickliffe's views.

A third associate in the work was Jacob of Misa, a young priest, of St. Michael's church, Prague, and who soon became not less enthusiastic for the doctrines of the English reformer than his friends. The three young men thenceforth studied together the heretical writings brought by Hieronymus from Oxford, devoutly seeking to thoroughly penetrate the spirit of the New Testament; and they then set themselves the bold task of denouncing the rottenness of the ecclesiastical system, and the wide discrepancy between Romanism and the Gospel. Their object was the radical reformation of the church. The priesthood was to be "completely changed in life, doctrine and tendencies, and the teaching of Christ take the place of ceremonial worship." The papacy, as it then existed, appeared to them the worst enemy of Christianity, and the dogma of papal authority inculcated by the priests a mere lying invention. They renounced, in fact, the whole Roman sa-

cerdotium, declaring there was but one well-spring of life—"the Holy Scriptures."

This is a brief sketch of the purpose aimed at by Huss, and his friends; but we must not suppose that each manifested like zeal and devotion. The chief labours in the cause were assumed by John Huss, whilst Jacob of Misa kept somewhat timidly in the back ground, and was, indeed, the least intellectually-gifted of the three. Hieronymus, on the other hand, was of too impatient and restless a character; he could not remain long in any one place, and, in all, spent but a few years in Bohemia. Yet both his coadjutors were of the greatest assistance to Huss, and probably, without the aid and encouragement he derived from them, especially in the manly courage of Hieronymus, he would never have acquired the clearness of view and moral courage which distinguished his advocacy of reform.

His labours received still greater assistance from the fact, that Bohemia was already in great part prepared to receive his teaching. Many Katharians and Waldenses, driven from France with fire and sword, had sought refuge in the east of Europe, and had so well established their faith in their new homes, that the king, Przemisl Ottokar found it necessary to entreat Pope Alexander IV. to send "heretic masters" to Bohemia, to root out dissent. Moreover, three famous men, Conrad Stecken, John Milicz, and Matthias of Janow, had already preached against the vices of the clergy, and thus the soil lay ready for the seed. But of still greater influence was the fact, that the Slaves of Bohemia possessed a translation of the Bible, of which they had

never allowed themselves to be deprived, and there were many churches in the country where sermons were constantly preached in the vernacular. When, therefore, Huss was known to address his congregation in the Bethlehem chapel in the Bohemian tongue, denouncing the vices of the Roman priesthood, the fact excited little comment, his ecclesiastical brethren never dreaming he contemplated an actual rupture with Catholicism. Until the year 1408, Huss met with no opposition; then, for the first time, Archbishop Sbinco,* of Prague, bethought him of commencing proceedings against the innovator.

But the ill-will of the archbishop was of no further importance, for King Wenzel IV., who then ruled Bohemia, was no friend to Catholicism, or rather to the Catholic priesthood; and, consequently, not only took Huss under his protection, but appointed him Rector of the Prague University. Huss naturally found his courage rise higher, and the more boldly he declared his doctrines, the faster his followers increased, so that by 1409 they formed already no inconsiderable party in the country. At length the attention of Pope Alexander V. was called to these heretical proceedings, and in September of the same year he issued a Bull, addressed to Archbishop Sbinco, calling on him to suppress the Wickliffite heresy in Bohemia, and especially forbid the public exposition of its doctrines in the Bohemian language.

* Sbinco, of Hassenberg, had received the archiepiscopal mitre in 1403, but was so notorious for his ignorance, that he was called by scarce any other name than the *Alphabetarius*—the A. B. C. dunce.

Sbinco assembled a synod in 1410, when the Wickliffite books were condemned to the flames, as well as all other works of a similar tendency. Two hundred of these offending compositions, all handsomely bound, were delivered to the archbishop, and he had them privately burnt in the court yard of his palace; but King Wenzel was so little in accord with this proceeding, that on learning it he at once obliged the archbishop to restore the value destroyed to the original owners. The pope on his part was no better pleased, and commanded Sbinco to lay Bethlehem chapel, where Huss had preached, immediately under the interdict. This interdict was extended over the whole city of Prague in 1411, so that the detested preaching in the mother tongue might be put an end to. King Wenzel, quite regardless of the pope's ban, commanded his clergy to fulfil their functions as before.

Encouraged by this, Hieronymus set forth through all the Slavish countries to preach the gospel, and call on the kings and rulers to let themselves be dictated to no longer by an arrogant priesthood. He even ventured to turn the pictured saints out of the churches; and, denouncing the monasteries as "sinks of iniquity and corruption," proceeded to their demolition with the arm of the flesh. Huss, too, growing ever bolder, began to openly advocate the doctrines of Wickliffe, though denounced by the pope as heretical. He next published a refutation of a certain Stokes, who employed much ingenuity and learning in an attempt to overturn Wickliffe's views; and then Pope John XXIII., who had succeeded Alexander V., feeling the moment had come

to take some more decided step, despatched Cardinal Colonna to Prague, to ascertain if John Huss were really a heretic or not. The cardinal went; had several interviews with Huss, and endeavoured, by every possible inducement, to make him abandon his doctrines. But the clear-headed Bohemian was insensible to his persuasions, and Pope John had no course left but to cite the recusant before the judgment seat at Rome. Huss would have gone unhesitatingly, but King Wenzel, still more Queen Sophia, laid a positive veto on the journey; and an embassy was despatched in his stead, to arrange some new basis with the pope on which to settle the questions at issue. John XXIII. in part consented; he was averse to seriously offending King Wenzel, fearing he might go over to one of the other two reigning popes. He, therefore, appointed a new commission of four cardinals, to investigate the matter thoroughly; but the cardinals had pleasanter occupation, and were ill-disposed to plunge into a theological controversy,—and so the affair was allowed to drag through a long course of years. Moreover, in 1411, Archbishop Shinco died, and his successor, Albinus, caring for little else than filling his own coffers, the whole matter was suffered to drop; and Huss and his colleagues continued to preach without hindrance, spreading the doctrines of their master, Wickliffe, ever wider.

The affair was, however, soon to assume another aspect. In 1412 certain “pardoners” came to Prague, making their entrance with the customary insolence of their craft. Huss and Hieronymus at once attacked the monstrous abuses represented by them. The majesty

of God was outraged by the very doctrine of indulgences, Huss cried, and the pope had no power to release men from their sins at the price of a few broad pieces. Hieronymus exhibited still more uncompromising energy: he burnt the Bull of Indulgences, publicly in the market place, and gave the pardoners, on meeting them by chance, not only hard home truths, but exposed them in such a manner that the defeated charlatans were but too glad to make their escape from Prague, where, indeed, all the more respectable part of the inhabitants were on the side of the reformers. Such proceedings proved a bitter morsel for a pope to swallow; and John XXIII. saw therein the drying up of a source of revenue he could ill brook losing. He therefore, in 1413, pronounced sentence of excommunication against the chief schismatic and his followers, laid the whole city of Prague under an interdict, and called on King Wenzel to seize the persons of all heretics and deliver them to the flames.

At first this had no result; things proceeded in Bohemia as before; but, after a time, the interdict proved so irritating and oppressive, that the king besought Huss to leave for a time, that the city might be freed of the ban. So the reformer retired to his native place, where he, moreover, was allowed to live quite undisturbed.*

In the meantime (anno 1414) the famous Council of Constance met, with the proposed object of restoring peace to the catholic world; and Huss was shortly sum-

* How oppressively the interdict worked, we may judge from the single fact, that for a whole year the king was obliged to employ his immediate attendants in burying the dead of the city; as all such offices were refused by the church on account of the papal ban.

moned to appear before it. He well knew his bitterest foes among the Bohemian clergy,—Stephen Palecz, Michael de Causis, Andreas Broda, and several others, were amongst its members. He had every reason to suppose the Roman cardinals would be little scrupulous for the means, so they secured his person, and could deliver him to the flames; but the ambassadors who brought the letter of invitation contrived to persuade their truth-loving victim that, at the Council, which was intended for the reformation of the church, a fair and impartial investigation of Wickliffe's doctrines would be made. Moreover, Huss received a safe conduct from the Emperor, Sigismund III., in which he found himself signalised as the "very honourable John Huss," whom "all the subjects of his imperial majesty were commanded to let pass, remain or return without let or hindrance." Therefore, how could he reasonably have refused to obey? especially as the emperor commissioned two Bohemian nobles, John of Chlum, and Wenzel of Dubna, to accompany him. Huss left Prague in the autumn of 1414, to proceed to Costniz, and arrived at his destination on the 3rd of November, 1414, after a journey of twenty days, and took up his abode, with his few attendants, in the house of a certain widow, named Fida.

Alas! he had entered the jaws of destruction; and henceforth his doom was sealed.*

* A presentiment of his coming fate seems to have been felt by Huss before quitting Prague. He left a letter for his most intimate friend, a certain Magister Martin, which was only to be opened if certain intelligence of his death should come. On the journey, his spirits exhibited no sign of depression. Wherever he appeared, he was received with the greatest reverence and devotion. In many cities through

For the first twenty-six days he remained unmolested, except that on the 4th of November Michael de Causis caused a public accusation to be affixed to the town walls and church doors, in which John Huss was described as a heretic and excommunicate, who, moreover, had been driven out of Bohemia for mean and deceitful practices. To this attack, Huss, by the advice of his friends, paid no attention whatever. Moreover, Pope John XXIII. swore, when the knight of Chlum announced to him the arrival of Huss, that no hair of his head should be injured, even though he had murdered his (the pope's) own brother. The excommunication formerly pronounced against the heretic, was removed; and he was assured, that thenceforth his freedom would be held inviolate.

Huss was soon, however, to learn the value of a Romanist oath; for on the 28th of November, 1414, the bishops of Augsburg and Trident, appeared as legates from the pope, accompanied by the burgomaster of Costniz, and invited him to appear before the "College of Cardinals," to answer for, and explain his doctrines. Huss replied, he was there to attend the General Council, not the cardinals'; but that he would still submit to this new demand. He then left his house with the three emissaries, and accompanied by the knight of Chlum, they entered the hall in which the cardinals were assembled, who angrily greeted Huss as an "arch heretic," and

which his route lay, he preached in public to enthusiastic congregations; and the catholic clergy in no instance offered any opposition. His journey was even distinguished by a certain public pomp; messengers in nearly every instance preceded him, to announce his coming, so that the streets through which he passed were thronged with crowds of people, eager to behold the far-famed John Huss.

at a sign given a number of armed men appeared, seized the so foully-betrayed victim, and at once carried him away to the monastery of the Grey Friars, at a short distance, on the Rhine. In vain the knight of Chlum loudly protested against the act, hurried from the emperor to the pope, and openly proclaimed it false and treacherous. His efforts could not avail John Huss, whose sentence had long been determined—death alone was to set him free.

At first the victim's captivity was comparatively mild; he was allowed to correspond with, and even hold, personal intercourse with his friends; but early in the year 1415, he was transferred to a Dominican monastery, and his imprisonment at once grew far more severe. The demand of the pope, however, that the detested heretic should be "at once given over to the flames without a trial," was not agreed to; the Emperor Sigismund insisting a regular inquiry into the alleged offences should be instituted, though he paid little regard to the Bohemian nobles, who hastened to Costniz, in considerable numbers, to remind him of the safe conduct he had given to Huss. The pope and the Romanists, the emperor and the Imperialists, finally agreed to appoint a Commission of Investigation; and this commission, constituted by three bishops, was immediately created, and assumed the whole conduct of the trial, though its chief purpose was, by great promises, to induce the prisoner to recant. Huss, notwithstanding, remained unmoved, and continually repeating his demand for a public hearing before the assembled council.

He was, therefore, at the beginning of April, trans-

ferred to the fortress of Gottlieben (Love of God), lower down the Rhine, in the hope of bringing him to submission, by additional severity. In the meantime (April 4th), Hieronymus arrived secretly at Constance to assist his friend in the defence of their mutual faith; but as the emperor refused the safe conduct for which he applied, he as suddenly left the town and proceeded to Uberlingen. But on the night previous to his departure he affixed a notification on the church doors, and on the residences of the cardinals and the more important of the bishops, to the effect, that he held himself ready to appear and answer any charges, on receiving a safe conduct to that effect. The Romanists replied, by commanding John von Salzbach, the count Palatine, to seize and send Hieronymus, without delay, to Constance. The count Palatine obeyed. The fiery reformer was secured, loaded with chains, and taken by his captor to Costniz, where he was consigned to the same Dominican cloister in which his friend John Huss had been imprisoned. Thus, instead of one, two prisoners were in safe keeping.

Huss, this whole time, was allowed no respite from persecution, his old enemy, Stephen Palicz, constantly visiting his dungeon, and always to repeat the same refrain: "Recant, or die!" The Commission was now increased by twenty doctors of divinity, and the examinations renewed daily. No attempt was made at these examinations to refute Huss, but only to make him renounce his faith. Every effort proved futile: he would concede no iota of his belief, only admitting that,—“If he had taught any thing contrary to the holy scriptures,

he would gladly renounce it ; but so long as this was not made evident, he must abide by what he had preached and written."

He demanded, in accordance with the emperor's promise, to be allowed to defend his cause before the assembled Council, but the Romanists used their utmost influence to prevent such a possibility, as they, above all things, desired to have the trial take place in private. They feared that Huss, once confronted with the Council, might utter truths too dangerous for catholicism ; and, therefore, they resolved to attempt to pass final sentence on him in a secret sitting, proposed for the 5th of June.*

Kaiser Sigismund III. would not yield his consent under any conditions ; and thus, on the 6th of June, the much-redoubted public trial was to take place. But what manner of trial was it ?

Chlum and Dubna accompanied Huss, and the emperor was present in person ; but scarcely had the prisoner

* They met that day, not in the hall where all their previous deliberations had been held, but at the Minorite monastery ; and after the Special Commission had given in its Report, and sentence of condemnation was on the point of being recorded, without the prisoner having been heard,—for, in the words of the sentence : "his heresy had been sufficiently proven,"—suddenly, the Rhine Palatine, Ludwig, and Count Friedrich, of Nuremberg, entered the conclave, and declared, by command of the emperor, "that sentence should not be passed before Huss had been heard in his own defence." The high dignitaries were sorely disconcerted ; they could not conceive by what means the kaiser had penetrated their scheme. It happened very simply, however. A certain Peter Mlodanyewicz, a secret friend of John Huss, seeing through the cunning of the princes of the church, warned the Barons Dubna and Chlum of this private meeting, and thus enabled them to inform Sigismund of it in time to forestall its purpose.

entered the great hall, where seven hundred prelates and doctors of the church were assembled; and scarcely were the first of the seven hundred and forty charges, founded on his writings, recited by the commission, than the reverend fathers raised so wild a tumult and clamour, that their own words could not be distinguished in the general hubbub, still less understood. This indecent scene lasted not a few minutes,—a whole hour elapsed before order could be restored, or the business of the day commenced.

At length comparative quiet returned, and then Huss exclaimed, "he had thought in a council of the church it were fitting that order and decorum should be observed." These words so incensed the high ecclesiastics, that the clamour broke forth again louder than ever. In short, the sitting had to be broken up without anything being done. It was little better the following day (7th June); even then Huss was scarcely allowed to uncloset his lips, when the holy fathers renewed their vituperations, until they forced him to silence: then they cried, "see! the heretic is confounded; we need no further evidence." On the third day he was allowed to speak, but then only because his sentence was already determined on. An acquittal, indeed, was impossible, amid the hate he had excited by doctrines which threatened the whole fabric of papal temporal power. When all the various charges had been recapitulated to him, and he had defended and explained his opinions in a long address, not one of the prelates there attempted to confute his defence, but they all cried, as he closed, "he is confuted." Then Cardinal

de Cambrai finally rose, and informed the accused, he must either unconditionally submit himself to the will of the council, and recant, or die.

“Recant! recant!” cried every voice, the Emperor Sigismund with the rest; adding, that if Huss would do so, he should be set free under a very slight penalty. But Huss was steadfast; and the emperor, annoyed at such persistent obstinacy, commanded his removal to prison. Then followed a long pause: though the princes of the church had resolved on the prisoner’s doom, Sigismund yet hesitated to subscribe sentence of death, after giving the royal word he should be suffered to return free and uninjured to Bohemia. Twice again, on the 1st and 5th of July, 1415, the prisoner was summoned before the court, and every means tried to bring him to submission; but as all alike failed, on the following day (the sixth) final sentence of condemnation was recorded, alike against his person and his writings. When the proceedings had closed, Huss fell on his knees, and besought God that he might have strength to pardon the injustice of his foes. Then seven bishops approached, and tore the priestly vestments from his person, cut away the tonsure,* and placed a high paper cap, painted with devils, on his head.

Then the usual maledictory formula commenced, and

* Whilst preparing for this part of the ceremony, the seven fell into an angry discussion whether it should be done by the scissors or a razor, so that Huss at length exclaimed: “In the name of cruelty make up your minds. Why not in the manner in which it was originally made.” The scissors were at length victorious, and the dispute ended.

when the soul of the martyr had been thrice devoted to the devil, under the bitterest imprecations, he was handed over to the temporal power, for the consummation of the sentence.

The arrangements for his burning had been long completed, and he proceeded at once from the judgment hall to the place of execution. We must be pardoned if we hurry over those dreadful moments succeeding. On his way to the stake, Huss was made to halt in front of the episcopal palace, and see his books consigned to the flames, amid the shouts of the excited populace. Smiling bitterly, he exclaimed: "I marvel wherefore they burn writings as heretical which they in part cannot understand, and assuredly cannot refute." On reaching the place of execution, he kneeled down, prayed in a low voice, then rose, and would have addressed the assembled crowd, but was immediately gagged, bound to the stake, and the faggots ignited around him. A revolting scene followed; women previously worked into a frenzy of fanaticism by the priests, pressed forward to heap the foulest insults on the martyr. But their words were unheeded by him. He had died almost instantly, suffocated in the smoke. As soon as this was perceived, the executioner's assistant tore the lifeless body to pieces with iron hooks, that it might be more completely consumed; but carefully impaling the heart on a spear, to roast it over the flames. When all was over, and nothing remained of John Huss but a little heap of ashes; these were carefully gathered up, and cast into the Rhine, so that no one might pre-

serve the smallest atom in remembrance of the noble-hearted victim.

So died John Huss; and the pope, and the whole Romish clergy proved they could make no other reply to heresy, or, rather, to enlightenment and truth, than by its annihilation. But, though Huss was annihilated, Hieronymus, who was guilty of the same crimes, still lived, and merited no less a punishment; for until this second exarch of heresy was silenced for ever, there was no hope of making an end of heresy. Whilst John Huss was enduring a martyr's death, Hieronymus lay in the dark tower of the Dominican monastery, his feet fastened to a heavy log, and his body so manacled, he could neither sit, stand, nor lie in a natural position. He received no food but bread and water, and that so sparingly, he grew more like to a skeleton than a living human creature. The cell, or den rather, in which he lay, was never cleaned; damp straw constituted its only furniture, until its atmosphere grew veritably pestilential. Hieronymus fell very sick; but this was employed to further increase his sufferings, and for a long time neither a doctor nor confessor was suffered to approach him. The object of his persecutors was to reduce his bodily and mental powers, that recantation might at length be wrung from his very weakness; such a recantation published throughout the Catholic world, would have been of far more advantage to Catholicism than his execution by fire.

The princes of the church sent emissaries again and again, to paint to him in the most terrible colours all

the horrors of a death at the stake, and by these, and various other means at their disposal, they at length gained their end. On the 23rd September, 1415, the so sorely tried captive was carried (he was too weak to walk) to the great hall, where the council was assembled, and there declared "he held the doctrines of Huss and Wickliffe as damnable, and from thenceforth concurred in all the dogmas, and institutions, and observances of the church of Rome." There was frantic rejoicing as he pronounced these words, though, indeed, he did but repeat them as they were dictated to him; and he was palpably so utterly shattered in mind and body, that his admissions could not have been regarded as the result of conviction. But this was a matter of secondary moment; the chief point was the triumph gained in the mere fact of his recantation.

Thenceforth his imprisonment assumed a milder character; he was allowed not only better food, but was removed to a place less unfit for human habitation; still he was not set at liberty. Four cardinals, and several bishops declared for his immediate liberation; they considered a new martyrdom inexpedient, as experience had shown each fiery execution made so peculiar an impression on the people, that instead of hindering heresy, it always brought forth fresh heretics. Another party in the council, and a far more numerous one, including, moreover, the two Bohemian prelates, Stephen Palecz and Michael de Causis, were of opinion safety could alone be secured by the death of a heretic, as recantation could always be again withdrawn. The sterner opinion prevailed in the end. And how well

justified it was grew evident, when, on the 26th of May, 1416, Hieronymus appeared again before the council. Long prior to that date, as soon, indeed, as his removal to a better prison had secured the restoration of his physical powers, he had bitterly repented having yielded to his priestly tempters, openly declaring it was but from the horror of being burnt alive that made him belie his conscience, and condemn doctrines which alone were true. He spoke of Johannes Huss as a godly man, deserving all honour, whose shoe latchet no one in that assembly was worthy to unloose, and solemnly declared, for no act of his life did he feel such keen remorse, as for that sinful recantation wrung from him on that 23rd of September, 1415. In short, he asserted so openly and unhesitatingly his devotion to the principles of the English Reformer, and met his enemies with such unflinching manliness and greatness of soul, that even pope Martin's secretary, the learned Florentine Poggio, was filled with wonder at his courage, eloquence, and fortitude.*

* Poggio says :—" Never have I heard a man so nearly approach the great orators of antiquity as Hieronymus. He defended himself so eloquently, so modestly, and ingeniously, that I am truly unable to describe it. And though it was his life and soul in jeopardy, he yet contrived to speak the most solemn truths with wit and pleasant conceits. He so touched all hearts, that many tears rose into the eyes of those assembled there. But instead of entreating mercy for himself, he discoursed wholly of Huss, as of a pious and holy man, condemned unjustly ; for Huss had taught nothing contrary to Christianity, had but attacked the abuses of the church, the pride and arrogance of the priests, and the recklessness with which they waste the heritage of the poor, in drinking, feasting, gaming, hunting, and lechery. He defended his dead friend with boldness and energy, and his marvellous eloquence must be the more admired, seeing he had been kept close in a dark,

Very different feelings possessed the holy fathers composing the council; they merely allowed him two days for reflection, that he might come to a better frame of mind. But on this occasion they deceived themselves, if they thought to obtain a second recantation from him. Hieronymus repelled all their offers, and declared he would rather endure the most agonising death, than purchase life at the cost of his conscience.

On the 30th of May the council met to pronounce sentence on Hieronymus, and he suffered on the same day. In the cathedral of Constance the priestly robes were stripped from his person, and a high, devil be-painted cap, such as Huss had worn, was placed on his head. "There is no disgrace in it," he calmly said, "for Jesus Christ also wore a crown of thorns." The whole way to the place of execution he continued to sing or pray, and when bound to the stake, and the executioner out of pity would have ignited the faggots from behind, the victim exclaimed, his voice never trembling:—"Light the fire in my sight; had I feared it, I should never have come to this pass, which I could so easily have avoided."

Heroically—a second Scaevola, died Hieronymus of Prague. His sufferings in the flames lasted a long quarter of an hour, then his ashes, like those of John Huss, were thrown into the Rhine.*

damp tower, for more than three hundred days. Yet, despite this, he exhibited a presence of mind, and contempt of death, which cannot but call forth our wonder, and I can call him by no other title than that of a second Cato. Verily his name deserveth eternal honour."

* The best witness to the sublime courage with which Hieronymus met his fate we have in *Æneas Sylvius*, afterwards Pope Pius II., who

The two great apostles of evangelical truth were thus destroyed, and destroyed for having invoked that truth ; but was Roman Catholicism therefore saved, or saved permanently? The contrary was, indeed, the case. The more intelligent portion of mankind clearly perceived that Huss and his friend had been sacrificed, because they attacked the worldly interests of the papacy, and hatred and contempt of Romish policy and Romanist principles was the result. The most enraged, as we can readily imagine, were the fellow-countrymen of the martyrs, the people of Bohemia, who had been thus cruelly deceived, both by the pope and the emperor. Their indignation soon brought on a war, alike with the papacy and the emperor ; a war, perhaps, never exceeded in the fierceness of the passions it called forth, and which plunged their whole country into the direst misery.

For the greater misfortune of Bohemia the inhabitants were divided into two great parties, formed by the true, or Sclavo-Bohemians, and the German. The latter, who since the time of the Emperor Charles IV., had acquired a considerable part of the land, and for that very reason were bitterly hated by the former, were devoted to the German emperor, whilst the Sclavo-Bohemians desired an independent kingdom. This poli-

says :—"He went to execution as to a festival ; no sound escaped his lips which could have been interpreted as an indication of weakness. He sang hymns of praise amid the flames until breath failed him ; and never did philosopher of old drain the poison cup with greater calmness, than he endured the long agony of the fire." So writes Æneas Sylvius, an eye witness of the scene.

tical division now led on to a religious one. Although the Bohemians, whether of Teutonic or Zech descent, were attached to the teaching of Huss, the Zechs renounced the whole system of the Roman Catholic priesthood, saint worship, miraculous pictures, &c., and took their stand on the ground of a complete reformation, based on the New Testament; whilst the Germans, who were always well disposed to the papacy, only demanded certain ameliorations of its usages, especially in the innovation which forbade the sacrament in two kinds to the laity, an innovation against which Huss had emphatically protested.*

Thus arose the Utraquist and Taborite sects. Originated in some slight doctrinal differences, they were soon divided by the fiercest rancour and hatred, and mutually massacred each other during long years of fratricidal war. The Utraquisten were so called from employing the sacrament, "*sub utraque specie*." For the same reason they were also styled Calixtines, from the Latin word *calix* (a chalice). The Taborites were thus entitled by themselves: for, finding that the reformation

* The Catholic church in primitive times was accustomed to bestow the bread and wine in communion, as Christ had done, alike to all partakers, and several popes and synods positively declared it a damnable heresy to neglect taking both—bread and wine. But as the dogma of the mysterious transubstantiation of the elements of the sacrament into actual flesh and blood gained acceptance, great anxiety was felt lest any atom should fall to the ground; and thence a decree was published at Rome in the twelfth century, forbidding the sacramental bread from being broken, and directing especial care to the wine, since a drop of it might so easily be spilt. To avoid the possibility of any accident of the kind, the idea was conceived of forbidding the chalice to the laity; and this regulation became canonical law in the fourteenth century, and received the ratification of the Council of Constance in 1415.

demanding by the Utraquists was but a compromise, and did not thoroughly cast off the papacy, they conceived it their duty to guard themselves as jealously against the too "undecided and lukewarm," as against the thorough Romanists. They, to this end, took possession of Mount Hradistin, on which some old fortresses still remained standing; and having named it Tabor, in memory of the Tabor in Palestine, the scene of Christ's transfiguration, built on it a strongly fortified town,—afterwards their chief rallying point, when hostilities had broken out. We must not linger over the Hussite war, with all its varying fortunes and indescribable horrors. It is a subject fitter for general history than for our present outline sketch. We can dwell only on those points which bring it into connection with the subject immediately occupying us, and illustrate papal influence on the strife.

After the death of Huss and Hieronymus, five hundred and fifty Bohemian knights and barons were cited, in 1416, before the Council of Constance, to answer for the notorious protection afforded by them to heretics. Not one of the number obeyed the summons. Still the Council did not venture to take any further measures against them, as it could scarcely hope the emperor would be induced to make war on King Wenzel, his own brother, who was indeed the chief protector of the heresy. Pope Martin V. knew no such considerateness; for having once secured his seat on the papal throne, in the commencement of 1418, he fulminated an angry address to the barons of Bohemia, in which he declared: "that though, at the entreaty of the Emperor Sigismund

he had until then let the sword of the church rest in the scabbard," unless he was assured of instant obedience, he should forthwith institute a crusade against the heresy. He at the same time despatched Cardinal de St. Sixtus as his legate to Prague,—charged to leave no means untried in bringing every heretic back to the true church.

The cardinal did not lack zeal ; but conversions were not so readily to be effected. During the summer of 1419, he contrived to get an anti-Hussite town Council appointed by the Government, for the so-called New Town of Prague, which was especially Hussite in tendency ; and the council at once commanded the removal of the sacramental chalices from the churches. Thus was the war originated. The inhabitants, wildly exasperated, were led by the terrible Ziska, and proceeded to storm the Town House, and threw the councillors from the windows on to the lances of the mob assembled below.

The tumult became universal, gathering fresh strength from every corner of the city. For the misfortune of his country, King Wenzel, the protector of the Hussites, shortly died, 16th of August, 1419, leaving no children ; so the throne was claimed by his brother, the Emperor Sigismund. But the prince who was the avowed friend of the popes,—he, who had permitted Huss and Hieronymus to expire at the stake,—how could he be accepted as their king by the people of Bohemia? The few Catholics in the country declared for him, but the majority of the inhabitants could not for a moment entertain the idea of such a master. The Utraquist barons wrote to the kaiser that they would acknowledge him only, on condition he consented to allow them full liberty to read

the scriptures and use the sacrament, in both kinds. The Taborites were less yielding; they at once prepared for an appeal to the sword. Sigismund, on his part, assembled an army, to secure obedience by the strong hand; and the pope charged his legate, John Dominico, to travel through Europe, calling all good Christians to join in a crusade against the Hussites. The emperor marched into Bohemia, and, under "the blessing of the church," spread havoc wherever he appeared. Fire, murder, and the violation of young girls and matrons, were the arms he used to restore the older faith; but he yet forced to make a precipitate retreat from Prague, with such desperate bravery was the city defended, and shortly afterwards was completely defeated by Nicholas of Husiniecz, Ziska's lieutenant, near Mount Tabor. The catholics then endured, in their turn, all the horrors their opponents had been made to suffer. Churches and monasteries were fired, and priests and monks thrown into the flames. In short, it was no human strife, but rather a struggle of wild beasts. Not long after, in 1420, the Calixtines, or Utraquists, offered the crown to King Wladislas of Poland, and on his refusal, to Witold, Prince of Lithuania. But Ziska and his Taborites would not recognise the candidate; they would accept no foreign ruler: and thus came the complete schism between them and the Utraquists, and both thenceforth held strictly to their own distinguishing doctrines. The war, in future, raged not between catholic and Hussite merely, but between Hussite and Hussite—Taborists and Utraquists—the "thorough" reformers against the "lukewarm."

The whole land weltered in blood, whilst the pope despatched ever new volunteers to the war; for with nothing but the complete annihilation of the Hussites, Utraquists and Taborites alike, could he rest content. He died at length on the 27th of February, 1431; but if the Bohemians indulged any hope of consequent peace for their country,—they were cruelly deceived. Cardinal Gabriel Condolmerio, a man whose prototype we can find, perhaps, only in Pope John XXIII., was chosen pope, under the title of Eugenius IV., and began his reign by causing a crusade to be preached against the Bohemians throughout all Europe; so that an end, once for all, might be made of the heretics. The inducements offered the crusaders were great: not only were they “authorised to rob and plunder,” but even “commanded to do so as a pious duty.” Thus a great army was collected with little difficulty. But of what elements it was composed, the reader may only too readily imagine: the offscourings of every land were there;—miscreants, who had evaded, or too well deserved, the gallows. They marched into Bohemia, and there did such deeds the pen may well refuse to describe. Taborites and Utraquists, men and women, old age and infancy,—all that fell into the power of the invaders, were slaughtered without mercy; for were not the crusaders assured, the uprooting of heresy was a “work agreeable to God?” Nor was massacre alone held sufficient: torture of prisoners, robbery, plunder, incendiarism, violence in every form, became as much a part of their system of warfare as slaughter itself; whilst every mark of contumely was lavished on the Hussite,—their very sacramental vessels

used by the catholics to water their horses. The accompanying priests went hand in hand in every crime,—lighting, with pious eagerness, the great bonfires which soon were blazing throughout the land, and into which the heretics were thrown in hundreds. Is it, then, strange, that under such influences the Hussites should presently retaliate the same cruelties which they were made to endure? Indeed, it too often happened, that when a catholic town was taken by them, every human creature in it, from feeble infancy to helpless old age, was thrust over the dark bridge of death. Their women became rather tigresses, and stabbed their sister catholics and catholic babes, with maniac fury. It is difficult to say which party exhibited the greater violence; but this is at least certain, that the responsibility for all the horrors of the war lies with the papacy, and its watchword, “Destruction.”

Yet mighty as was the host of the Crusaders gathered together by Eugenius IV., it was unable to withstand the Hussite army,* and the hope of subjecting the land proved again illusory.

* The crusading army, under the command of the Elector Frederick of Brandenburg and Cardinal Julian, numbered 40,000 horse, 90,000 foot, 9,000 baggage waggons, 151 field pieces.

Procopius, surnamed the Great, the general in chief of Hussite forces after Ziska's death, had but 5,000 cavalry, 40,000 infantry, 3,000 baggage waggons, and about fifty pieces of artillery; but at the pitched battle which took place on the 14th of August, the dastard Catholic mercenaries took flight after a brief contest, leaving all their camp equipage and fire-arms in the hands of the patriots. The victory of the Hussites was complete, and at the close of the day they found themselves in possession of all the enemy's cannon, and had slain besides 20,000 of the crusading heroes.

Since fire and sword had failed, it was found necessary to try other means to reach the end desired—and other means were not long in being found. Deceit and treachery were now to win the so long delayed victory. The Romanists suddenly bethought them of the wide divergence of doctrine existing between the two great Hussite sects; and it seemed feasible enough to gain over the Utraquists, the more moderate of the two, by some affected concessions, when the Taborites, once cast on their own unaided resources, might be easily overcome. This achieved, the concessions could be retracted, and the Utraquists also destroyed. The scheme was well laid, and put in action by the assistance of the Council of Bâle.

The Utraquists were told:—"You are divided from us Catholics, by so small an interval, chiefly, indeed, by the dogma regarding the chalice in the sacrament of communion, and if we are content to forego the disputed point, wherefore should you not consent to reunite with us?" The perfidious suggestion found but too ready a welcome from the nobles of the party addressed; the more so, as the Taborites, represented chiefly by the lower classes, were intent, not only on obtaining religious, but political enfranchisement.

In January, 1434, a diet assembled at Prague, and as papal legates appeared the astute Cardinal Polomar, and the not less astute and unscrupulous Bishop Philibert of Costniz. They brought a formal confession of uniformity, the so-called "Compact," drawn up by the Council of Bâle, by which the Bohemians were assured that the pope would fully authorise them in the use of

the sacrament in both kinds, on condition of their conforming in other things to the doctrines of the Catholic church. On such a basis peace was readily effected.*

The minds of the Utraquists had long been prepared for such a result; the more so after the violent Romanists, John of Prezbram, and John Rocyzcama (the latter was promised by the pope the Utraquist archbishopric of Prague), had contrived to secure to themselves the whole management of church affairs. The pope was beside himself with joy at the turn events had taken:—now at length it would be possible to vanquish the Taborites. Indeed, the Utraquists united at once with the Catholics, trusting to restore peace to their distracted country. At the diet held 1434, they appointed Alsass Riesenbergh, commander in chief of their forces; and as the Taborites refused to conform to the conditions of this peace lately made with Rome, determined to declare war against them.

It was above all things requisite to place a strong garrison in Prague, for the capital had constantly been

* The Utraquists at first made two other requisitions: the first of these—that the Scriptures should be publicly expounded in the vernacular tongue; to this the legates at once consented, with only the apparently unimportant proviso, that every preacher of the Gospel should be a regularly ordained Roman Catholic priest. But this condition actually nullified the concession, for every such priest was necessarily dependent on the pope, and it may therefore be readily imagined what manner of exposition such a priest's would be.

The legates met the other demand with no less benignity, especially the clause which required that no bishop or priest should hold any temporal property whatever. They emphasized the word "property," and afterwards explained it away, by declaring that church property could only be "administered," not "possessed," by the clergy.

the very focus of all the insurrectionary movements, and as it chanced that the Procopius the Great, the chief leader of the Taborites, was then laying siege to Pilsen, which he had moreover vowed to destroy for its Romanism, the allied Catholics and Utraquists hoped to attain their object with little difficulty. Without any previous declaration of war, the chief city of Bohemia was suddenly attacked; for it was desirable to secure it an entrance ere Procopius could come to the rescue. In the "Old Town," chiefly inhabited by the "lukewarm" section of the Hussites, but little resistance was offered; but so much the more desperate was it in the "New Town," where dwelt the self-styled Orebiters (they took the name from Mount Horeb); but were undistinguished from the Taborites by any doctrinal difference; they had, however, their own leaders, and were remarkable for their wild fanaticism. Then commenced a sanguinary contest, which lasted through three successive days; no battle; but rather a wild massacre, for quarter was shown on neither side. Not until the evening of the third day approached, and when 22,000 Orebiters, men, women, and children, had been slaughtered, did the "New Town" succumb," and consent to acknowledge the "Compact."

The allied Catholics and Utraquists were now masters of Prague, but Bohemia was not therefore pacified; the chief struggle was still to come. Procopius the Great learning the massacre which had taken place in the new town, at once raised the siege of Pilsen, and advanced with his veterans to the rescue of his co-religionists. The Romanists and Utraquists, well knowing the re-

doubtable character of their opponent, transferred the chief command of their forces to the bold Mainhard von Neuhaus, and he quickly raised the number of his army to 100,000 men, whilst Procopius had not more than 30,000.

On the 30th of May, 1413, a battle took place at Böhmischesbrod, between Lipan and Hrzrb, and never had the world witnessed a more sanguinary encounter. The weakest part of the Taborite army was its cavalry, and therefore Neuhaus employed all his skill to put them to flight at the commencement of the day, trusting it would then be easy to make the rest follow their example. He succeeded; they fled; but Procopius, undismayed, threw himself at the head of his bravest soldiers into the midst of the enemy's ranks, and so great was the shock inflicted, that the army of Neuhaus, notwithstanding its vast numerical superiority, was nearly broken asunder. A wall of corpses grew round Procopius and his faithful followers; thousands of Romanists and Utraquists fell beneath their swords. But the Taborites suffered severely, and the little band of heroes grew ever thinner, and more thin. Procopius at length found death; but not until he had grown well nigh exhausted with the work of slaughter. Procopius the Little fell by the side of the general, with the greater number of his officers. The contest at length could be maintained no longer; and those of the Taborites who still survived, and had not been taken prisoners, retreated, to seek refuge in the stout fortress of Mount Tabor.

The allies were completely master of all Bohemia, the

town of Tabor alone excepted. But they employed their triumph not as men, but as bloodhounds, or men whom the lust of blood had made mad. Immediately after their great victory an enormous pile of faggots was raised, then set on fire, and all their prisoners thrown into the flames. The army broke up into small bands, and wandered over the country in search of concealed Taborites, and whenever one was secured, he or she was immediately consigned to the stake. Massacre, and continued massacre, was the only means of pacification adopted, as it had been in the south of France in earlier times. Yet despite the efforts of the zealous heretic hunters, all the Taborites could not be tracked out; those in the castle and town of Tabor maintained themselves for several years, until wearied by the struggle they finally retreated, sword in hand, to the territories of the famous George de Podiebrad, to found there a quiet, peace-loving "fraternity."

By blood and fire the papacy was once more reinstated, but the Reformation was none the less inevitable!

CHAPTER IV.

EXTIRPATION OF PROTESTANTISM THROUGHOUT THE KINGDOMS OF EUROPE.

OUR readers are, we doubt not, well acquainted with the story of the rise and triumph of the Reformation, under Luther, Zwingle, Calvin, and their coadjutors in the cause.

In the sixteenth century millions simultaneously threw off the degrading yoke to which they and their fathers had so long been compelled to bow. Religious enlightenment, or, in other words, the doctrines of the primitive church—for the Reformation proposed nothing more than the restoration of the Christianity founded by Christ and his apostles—religious enlightenment spread so fast, it soon penetrated every country in Europe. In every land, where, until then, the papacy had ruled supreme, Protestantism suddenly asserted itself, and in many places almost entirely supplanted Roman Catholicism. Never since its origin had the papacy to pass through so perilous a crisis; but never did it employ means so terrible, deeds of such dark iniquity for self preservation. Not thousands, or tens of thousands, as in Toulouse or Prague, but whole millions were now

murdered, and with circumstances of atrocity of which the history of the world affords no example. Millions of men and women were tortured, martyred, murdered in cold blood, that the power of Rome might be upheld. In what manner the popes began this great work, and laid the train for its proper fulfilment in the various countries where their power extended, it is now our purpose to briefly investigate. We commence with that one in which the Reformation itself originated.

(1). THE EXTIRPATION OF PROTESTANTISM IN
GERMANY.

The words we thus employ are, however, self-contradicted; Protestantism was not extirpated in Germany, and it still holds there its chief seat and chief power; but its destruction was not the less attempted, and attempted by every conceivable method, the most infamous included. Success followed unhappily in too many places, even where the new doctrines had taken fast hold; but fire and sword were found unanswerable enforcers of conformity, as in the days of the earlier crusades against dissentients.

That out of 42,000,000 Germans, 14,000,000 remained Protestant, and succeeded in holding the papacy at defiance, we have to thank the fact that the German empire was from of old constituted by an agglomeration of smaller sovereignties, under a chief potentate—the emperor king, to whom they were all partially subject. Had the Hapsburg possessed the same power throughout Germany as the Valois and Bourbons over France, the sixteenth century would probably have seen the

destruction of Protestantism throughout their dominions, as it was destroyed in France during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; for the Hapsburgs, from the very dawn of their power, were so completely devoted to Rome, that with few exceptions the popes ruled them as it best suited their policy or passions—"they were men after a pope's own heart."

The destruction of the heretics, or Lutherans (Lutherans, in the eyes of the orthodox, included all the new sects), was the great insoluble riddle for the papacy; and Clement VII. was bitterly exasperated when, in 1529, the emperor, Charles V., with whom he held a conference at Bologna on the question, hesitated, for political reasons, to draw the temporal sword against them, and so secure the full accomplishment of the papal ban.

Paul III. (1534-50) was more fortunate; since he succeeded in fomenting the first religious war in Germany (the so-called Smalkalden war). But so much the more indignant was the next pope, Julian III., when he sent a body of troops numbering 15,000 men, a war subsidy of two hundred thousand ducats, further the permission to sequester divers monastic institutions in Spain, and promised various other advantages, on condition his majesty would continue the war; and Charles, instead of doing so, concluded the peace of Passau, by which the Protestants obtained even a certain amount of religious freedom.

A still more unpalatable morsel was subsequently to be swallowed by Pope Paul III. in 1555, when the religious peace of Augsburg was signed, and which for-

mally recognised Protestantism as a religion, and not a mere heresy.

Paul the IV. protested against the peace, and demanded the resolutions passed by the diet of the empire (Reichstag) should be cancelled, since it was "full time to destroy the Lutherans, root and branch." But Charles V. could not meet the wishes of the pope, fearing to provoke a contest which might have cost him his imperial crown; so Paul, despite his indignation, had to behold Protestantism constantly gain fresh ground in Germany, and nearly supplant the orthodox church. But Rome never wearied of watching for its opportunity—and at length that opportunity came. By July, 1609, the legate sent by Pope Paul V. to Germany, had succeeded in inducing nearly all the Catholic princes of the empire to band themselves in a league—the so-called Holy Alliance—against Protestantism. Moreover, Kaiser Matthias, who was completely under the influence of the Jesuits, had determined to prevent the further spread of the reformed doctrines in Bohemia (they already had been adopted by two-thirds of the population), and to this end caused several newly-built Protestant churches to be razed to the ground. Thus was the way prepared for a final blow, and the pope rejoiced beyond measure when certain Protestant nobles at Prague (March 23, 1618), under the leadership of Count Thurn, revenged the insults they had been made to endure, by storming the castle, and throwing the detested ultra-Catholic Imperial councillors, Martinez and Slowata, with Secretary Fabricius, from the windows into the moat.

Then, indeed, the war so long desired could no longer be deferred; that war which was commenced by the Roman Catholics, in the design of annihilating the Protestants, and which was fated to continue during thirty years, but close in a way little gratifying to Rome. At first all went admirably; Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, to whom the pope with singular appropriateness had sent a consecrated dagger, marched into Bohemia, defeated the Protestants at the White Mountain, near Prague, destroyed the religious liberty which had survived until then, re-established the Jesuits in the land, forbade all religious rites, except those of the Roman Catholics, and drove all the members of the reformed churches, numbering 200 nobles, and 30,000 of the industrial classes, into exile; they went principally to Prussia, Holland, Saxony, and Switzerland, refusing the alternative of reconciliation with the dominant faith, whilst he confiscated their property to the amount of forty million florins. A further 20,000 heretics, who would not consent to self exile, he either burnt, or put to the sword. All this was done in the name of Jesus Christ!

A few years later the fortune of the war turned; and most effectually, when Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, crossing the Baltic, landed on the Continent, and defeated the two great Catholic generals, Tilly and Wallenstein; but as we cannot enter on the story of the Thirty Years' War, it may be enough for our purpose to remind the reader, that the five popes who successively filled St. Peter's chair during its continuance—Paul V., Gregory XV., Urban VIII., Innocent X.,

exhibited a like zeal in feeding the war fire, and liberally supported the Catholic party with money and men.

The most grateful offering, the sacrifice of the sweetest savour in their nostrils, was the outpouring of heretic blood, and they spared no effort to excite the Catholic princes, the emperor, Ferdinand II. especially, to ever increasing zeal in the work of destruction. At length, in 1648, an end was put to the struggle; but in the meantime thousands of towns and villages had been reduced to ashes, one half the population of Germany swept away, the other half left utterly beggared; the once smiling, prosperous land changed into a wild waste and wilderness, and the people, from the misery into which thirty years warfare had plunged them, had in great part lost, not only all sense of religion and social morality, but well nigh every better instinct of humanity. The condition of Germany was, indeed, pitiable, but so much the more profound was the universal joy when this lust of murder was at length sated, and the hearts of the princes turned to peace; a consummation finally achieved by the treaties of Osnabrück and Münster, under conditions honourable alike for both the parties to it.

Perhaps in all Europe there was but one man who did not rejoice at this; that one was Pope Innocent X., who, after causing his legate to enter a formal protest against the preliminaries of the peace then under discussion at Osnabrück, next issued a Bull (November 26th, 1648), denouncing the good understanding just secured between Catholics and Protestants as contrary to religion, an infringement of the papal prerogatives,

therefore invalid, vain, and damnable, declaring the treaty was null and void alike, with regard to the past, present and future, and that it behoved no one, though he had taken the most solemn oath upon it, to hold thereto, either in the whole, or in any particular. Thus Innocent X. He cursed what all men blessed; but how much the Bull was really regarded, we see by the fact, that "even in Austria" it was torn by the people from the church doors, where it had been affixed by the legates, and publicly burnt.

From thenceforth Protestantism had a recognised legal right of existence in the empire recorded by the Catholic princes; persecutions for conscience sake ceased, and Christians, whether called Catholics, or Lutherans, or Calvinists, were permitted to worship God throughout the length and breadth of the Father land, according to their individual opinions.

Such was the declaration of the Peace of Westphalia; and its wise provisions would have been observed but for that one man—the pope of Rome. He knew no toleration; could know none, unless he had been false to the very principles of the system he represented. He, the pope, he, the self-styled source and centre of Christianity, could not regard as Christians those who refused to acknowledge in him their supreme head. He, whose predecessors had perfected the famous heretic burning Bull,* "In cœna domini" (so called from the

* This notorious Bull originated undoubtedly with the arrogant Boniface VIII., but was enlarged and perfected by Urban V., Julius II., Paul III., Gregory XIII., and especially by Pius V., and Urban VIII., whilst the two latter ordained it should be read on each Maunday

commencing phrase), could not, if true to the traditions of his office, for an instant neglect any means for securing the destruction of heresy. Therefore, when the wholesale massacre of heretics ceased in Germany, by the refusal of the princes to lend the temporal power for the purpose, still an under current of persecution was maintained against all who dissented from Rome; every possible means, the most infamous, and the most unjust, being employed in the work; for it was still hoped

Thursday from every Catholic pulpit in Christendom. To the pope's sore vexation this regulation was not attended to, so great was the heart-burnings it would probably have excited; but to this day, in the States of the church, and Rome especially, it is still proclaimed on the appointed anniversary, in every church; for its matter is the true presentiment of the thoughts, feelings, and desires of the Roman pontiff. In it, for instance, we read:—(I) That the pope is lord over all Christendom; not only, indeed, over priests and bishops, but over princes, kings, and emperors. (II) The terrible curse pronounced upon every one who offendeth against the pope, or, rather, Roman Catholicism. "Cursed and banned, in the name of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and in that also of the blessed St. Peter and St. Paul, shall be, firstly, all Hussites, Wickliffites, Lutherans, Zwinglians, Calvinists, Huguenots, Anabaptists, Trinitarians, Unitarians, and all and every other heretic; secondly, all those who give any succour or aid to an heretic, afford him shelter, or show him countenance in any way; thirdly, all who buy, read, print, or disseminate, or favour in any way, any religious book published without the sanction of the Apostolic throne; fourthly, all universities, colleges, and cathedral chapters, on their appealing to a Council; fifthly, all who may offer any let or hindrance to the expediting of money or necessities, &c., &c., to the Papal court, or who sequester its revenues; further those also who lay taxes on the clergy, though they be kings or kaisers; those who meddle in ecclesiastical affairs, or affairs under papal jurisdiction; those who offer any resistance to the commands of the pope, his legates or nuncios; finally, all who obey not the representatives of St. Peter, as it would behove them to obey God himself!"

to drive men from their faith by sheer despair, and weariness of the continual strife.

This policy found its most active apostles in Austria, whose rulers were for the most part completely under Jesuit influence. But the most striking example was afforded by the Archbishop Leopold of Salzburg, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, under the instigation of Pope Benedict XII. Although the archbishops domains were enclosed between good Catholic Austria, and the still quite orthodox Bavaria; whilst, moreover, the subjects of an ecclesiastical prince might seem little likely to fall into heresy, yet the evangelical doctrines had penetrated the mountain valleys around Salzburg at a very early period of the Reformation. The then archbishop, Matthäus Lange von Wellenburg, immediately put the strongest measures in force against them, and caused the former Franciscan monk, George Schærer, who had preached the new faith at Rastadt, and Stöckel, a priest in one of the mountain villages, to be beheaded; yet Lutheranism was not the more destroyed, each martyr but brought it new adherents. Within a brief space the Lutheran Bible became the only book of devotion recognised by the mountaineers of Salzburg: and a dozen years later Protestantism had firmly taken root in the archiepiscopal capital.

Under Archbishop Marcus Siticus, count of Hohen-Ems, several Protestant communities in the mountains entreated "His Episcopal Grace's authority to seek a Protestant pastor." Marcus Siticus soon determined on his reply: he sent a dozen Capuchin friars, and a

few hundred soldiers into the mountains, convinced that penitential sermons would be far more likely to prove effective, if supported by the sword. He was not mistaken; all the relapsed presently conformed, at least in outward observances, although, in secret, heterodox gatherings were still held.

During the Thirty Years' War, when Salzburg, strange to say, enjoyed exceptional prosperity, Protestantism gained there much firmer footing. The see was then held by Archbishop Paris, a man as remarkable for his benevolent character and mental acquirements, as for his enlightened statesmanship, and he defended the mountain passes into his domains so well, that during the whole period no foreign soldier ever entered his borders. Whilst the war lasted, he wisely avoided persecuting any of his subjects for matters of opinion, his power depending wholly on their union, by which alone the attacks of the enemy could be successfully repelled.

A great change came with his successor, Maximilian Gandolf, who adopted the system of forced conversion. But even he was soon content to stay his hand, on finding persecution not only failed to strengthen his position, but that he could only continue it to his own serious disadvantage. The reign of the next archbishop, Francis Antony, count of Harrack (1709-1727), passed as quietly; for though the Protestants were subjected to various petty vexations, no open violence was employed against them.

A far other state of things ensued, when Leopold Antony Freiher von Firmian assumed the archiepiscopal dignity, October 3rd, 1727. He was avaricious, and

having had to send one hundred thousand thalers to Rome for the pallium, naturally resolved to make his new subjects make good the outlay. Moreover, his paramour, the Countess Arco, was a source of heavy expense to him, and the offspring of his liaison with her had also to be provided for. He was not less greedy of power than of money, and had determined to secure a cardinal's hat, and further, to bring the episcopal see of Passau under his authority; Passau had contrived to separate itself from Salzburg some twenty years before. As both desires could only be realised through the favour of the pope, he, with his prime counsellor and favourite, Hieronymus Christian von Räll, concocted a plan to this end of really devilish ingenuity. The two resolved either forcibly to restore all the schismatics in Salzburg to the church, or utterly destroy them from the face of the land, and thus prove to the reigning pope, Benedict XIII., that the interests of the apostolic throne were far more precious than any others in the archiepiscopal eyes. The treaty of Westphalia, it is true, forbade the summary incrimination of heretics; still they might be harassed and tortured, until driven into rebellion, and then in all legality put to death, banished, and spoliated. It was, in truth, a magnificent scheme, and well worth the sixty thousand florins with which Räll was rewarded for it from the papal treasury.

Of course measures were immediately taken to carry out the proposal; forthwith a multitude of Jesuits spread themselves over the land, to warn the relapsed to repentance; but, above all things, to search for forbidden books—especially translations of the Bible and New Tes-

tament. Whoever possessed such a work, and denied the fact, was treated as a criminal; either thrown into prison, and left, perhaps for months, without trial, or summarily sent over the frontier, under penalty of death in event of his return. The mayor of Werfen, Roman von Wetzel, exhibited so much zeal in the service, that he at once cast twelve respectable burghers into prison, and employed such treatment towards them, that they soon promised to tell their heads devoutly for the future, and pay him a handsome ransom. The breach of the law was flagrant; but not only did Roman von Wetzel pass unrebuked, but was greatly lauded for his zeal by his spiritual master. His proceedings becoming known, his colleagues, in many places, eagerly emulated, or even surpassed them. Soon the prisons were all filled; but no prisoner was released until he had forsworn his heresy.

Imprisonment was not the only evil to which the Protestants were subjected; there were many far more ingenious methods of persecution. None of the customary rites of sepulture, no tolling bell or funeral hymn, were allowed to the professors of the reformed faith. Their dead were buried by the roadside, or in the forest. The Catholic priesthood found their way into every household, baptising every infant according to the Romanist forms, made women tremble at their terrible pictures of eternal damnation, and cursed the whole family to the lowest depth of hell, unless they renounced Protestantism. Catholics were forbidden to hold any intercourse with heretics, that the latter might be as completely isolated as possible; and, in short, no means

by which the daily life of the victims might be embittered were left untried. They were even deprived of all rights of citizenship; for no one suspected of heresy could act as sponsor, or appear as a witness in a court of justice.

The Protestants, in their sore extremity, began to hold secret meetings for studying the Word of God, or to take counsel how best relief might be obtained from this merciless oppression. Scarcely had Chancellor Räll gained intelligence of these meetings, than he at once treated them as treasonable, and sent messengers to the emperor at Vienna, to entreat his majesty to send troops against the rebels. But the Protestants, on their side, had despatched delegates to Vienna and to Ratisbon (where the representatives of the "Evangelical Stände" held their sittings), to protest against this breach of the Westphalian Peace.

Certain of the delegates succeeded in reaching Ratisbon, though the passes were strictly guarded; so strictly, indeed, that the majority of the adventurers were seized, and suffered as rebels. The Evangelical Council took up the cause of the oppressed, addressed a remonstrance to the archbishop, and further, entreated the emperor to take their case into consideration. But to what result? The archbishop replied, his Protestant vassals were in open insurrection, and doubled the severity of the measures against them; the *Aufruhacte* (declaration of rebellion) was proclaimed, and every meeting of more than four persons denounced as rebellious. Thus were secured the means of a systematic persecution, according to whatever procedure might seem best. As not one

of the heretics was to be allowed to escape, it was of the utmost importance to have an exact list of all persons attached to the new faith. Thereupon Chancellor Räll published an announcement that the government wished to be informed of all grievances its Protestant subjects might have to prefer, in order to the future legal regulation of their political position, and he proceeded in Midsummer, 1731, from parish to parish, to hear the complaints, and register the name and fortune of each of the Protestant inhabitants. Delighted that all trouble for the future was over, and the better to mask his designs, the chancellor then gave the people permission to practice the evangelical faith within their houses. They fell into the trap, hastened to inscribe their names on the heretic roll, and it was thus ascertained that the dominions of the archbishop held no fewer than 20,678 Protestants, among whom 850 families were of the wealthier order. Scarcely had this preliminary business been effected, when Räll threw off all disguise, and the persecutions recommenced *with* their former virulence. Even greater barbarity was employed than of old; and as a foretaste of all that was to follow, the Protestant Bible was publicly burnt in the market place of Salzburg. Immediately succeeding this, in September, 1730, 6000 imperial troops entered the archiepiscopal territories, professedly to suppress the secret gatherings of the insurgents, but, in reality, to put down heresy by force. The soldiers were naturally quartered only upon the Protestant inhabitants, who stood already self-denounced, and thenceforth commenced a system of spo-

liation, the iniquities of which can with difficulty be fully conceived.

The troops acted as though in an enemy's country, gave themselves up to license and reckless plunder. The Protestants were stripped of their possessions, and when no longer able to pay the taxes imposed on them, they were driven from their homes as beggars. Whoso dared let fall an impatient word, or glance, was at once seized, chained to some other offender, and thrown into prison; those who succeeded in making their escape to the forests, were hunted down like wild beasts, and put to death with as little compunction.

Women were exposed to nameless outrages, or murdered, if they offered resistance. It is, indeed, impossible to enter on the details of this death contest of Catholicism against Protestantism, and it would have been no marvel if the latter had taken up arms to avenge its wrongs. But this was not to be; another end was approaching.

On St. Laurence's day, more than a hundred venerable men, the representatives of the various Protestant communities of Salzburg met in a lonely gorge, in the Dientner Thal, and took counsel where aid might best be sought in the common tribulation. No hope seemed to offer but from exile, and it was then determined their people should seek another home, no matter under what sky, so only they dared freely worship their God beneath it.

Several of the more courageous volunteered to scale the highest passes, and invoke help from the Pro-

testant princes of Germany. Two only of those who went forth evaded their enemies, the rest were seized, and shot; but those two at once addressed themselves to all the more powerful Protestant powers—England, Sweden, Prussia, entreating the good offices of the respective governments, in intervention for their unhappy countrymen. Frederick William was then king of Prussia, and he at once perceived the advantages he should gain by the addition of these Salzburgers to the population of his sparsely peopled land. He at once made the most energetic representations to the archbishop, to obtain his sanction for the proposed emigration; further declaring, that if his grace made any difficulty in the matter, he (the king) would retaliate on the Catholic subjects of Prussia all that the Protestants of Salzburg suffered.

The ecclesiastical potentate was fain to yield; but in what wise? He immediately made emigration compulsory; driving away, by help of the imperial dragoons, all those who wished to quit the land, leaving them no time either to prepare for so long a journey, or sell the property still spared them. In the midst of the Alpine winter they were obliged to commence their wanderings, and those who showed any disinclination to exile, were driven forth at the point of the bayonet. Catholics were told it was needless to purchase heretic property, for in a few days it would be their own without payment. Those Protestants who had contrived to obtain a little money for the journey were deprived of it, under the plea of an emigration tax, and so well were these regulations carried out, that none were suffered to cross

the frontier until completely beggared. Nor was this the worst ; the moral vexations were far more cruel than these physical penalties. In the city of Salzburg, where alone the prescribed passports were obtainable, applicants were kept waiting for long weeks, when their children, in numberless instances, were taken from them, under pretence they had expressed a desire for reconciliation with Rome ; and every contrivance, some, indeed, of the most infamous character employed, to detach the parents from their faith. But it was all to no effect : the greater the suffering, the greater the oppression, the higher rose the zeal of the victims, not one of whom consented to remain behind.

Within a short period 18,000 persons bade farewell to home and country, and in many districts, so complete was the desolation left behind, the beholder might have imagined a terrible pestilence had passed over and depopulated the land. But the lord archbishop cared little for such secondary matters—"I will not have a single heretic in my dominions," he declared, "though thorns and thistles should cover the fields." The pope munificently rewarded him for such good Catholic sentiments, for Clement XII. accorded the title of "Excelsus" to his champion.

Later, the new "Highness" discovered, to his horror, that the more heterodoxy decreased, the less became the returns to the archiepiscopal treasury, and to retain the remnant of Protestantism still left, called on all his subjects to subscribe to the following *oath* :—"I swear to the living God, and all the saints, that I not only acknowledge my devotion to the sole-saving (*alleinselig*

machenden) Roman Catholic faith, with my heart and lips, but I will duly believe that all those who have wandered forth from the land, or who may in future do so, travel devil-ward." This clumsy scheme to keep the people at home had the very contrary effect; for suddenly from the vast salt-mines around the capital the miners issued forth, and proclaimed themselves Protestants; the archbishop might grind his teeth for rage, in seeing his splendid salt mines, the chief source of his revenue, suddenly left workmanless; but the miners all left, and were followed into exile by about 2000 other persons, and then the emigration ceased. In all, not less than 22,000 abandoned the country. The stillness of death rested where the busy hum of human life and industry had once filled the air, and whole generations passed away before the blank thus left was even partially filled.

The archbishop, however, could now proudly declare that no man or woman was left in the land who did not devoutly tell their beads, and as devoutly seek the intercession of the blessed saints. From thenceforth, however, there were no more "wholesale" heretic persecutions in Germany; for the various governments had at length learnt they did more political harm than religious good, and the pope, for the future, had to content himself with renouncing all thought of new crusades, at least, as far as Germany was concerned.

11.—THE EXTIRPATION OF HERESY IN FRANCE.

In France, as in Germany, the doctrines of the reformers had spread far and wide, despite the orthodox zeal of Francis I., and his son, Henry II., by whom many heretics in Paris, Toulouse, and Aix, were burnt at the stake. But the resignation and cheerfulness with which the victims met their doom, seemed an evidence of the truth of their creed, and multiplied, instead of diminished, the number of their fellow believers. This result was further aided by the fact, that the chief apostle of French Protestantism, Jean Calvin (Calvin), of Royou, in Picardy, was by birth, speech, and habits, a Frenchman; whilst he found in the gifted Margaret of Navarre, the sister of Francis I., an all-powerful protectress.

Thus the new religion spread with marvellous rapidity among all classes and conditions of men; many of the highest education and intelligence, citizens distinguished by their wealth, nobles of the most ancient families, even several princes of the blood royal, became secretly attached to the new faith. They rarely, however, ventured to acknowledge it publicly; to do so, was to provoke immediate imprisonment, followed by execution.

A very different era in the history of Protestantism commenced on the death of Henry II., and the advent of Francis II. to the French throne. The new king, then but seventeen years of age, and alike feeble in mind and body, was quite incapable of grasping the reins of government, and a regency became necessary. But to whom should the regency be adjudged? To

Catherine de Medici as queen-mother, to the dukes of Bourbon, as the nearest of kin to the Valois house, or to the duke de Guise, the most important of the great nobles?

The Guises were descended from the ancient family of the dukes of Lorraine; during the reign of King Francis I., the younger brother of the duke of Lorraine secured the comté of Guise, in Picardy, by marriage, and it was shortly elevated into a dukedom in his favour. In 1559, the house of Guise was represented by Duke François (son of Claudius), a man of dauntless courage, great intellect, and boundless ambition. He had five brothers, the famous cardinal Charles of Lorraine one of them; they had all been loaded with favours and offices by the late king, and had constantly employed their influence to place their own partisans in nearly every office of state. But as a means of consolidating their power, they resolved to take their stand as the champions of Catholicism, and the uncompromising opponents of the new faith. The "Bourbons" were descended from Robert, the second son of Louis IX., who had acquired by marriage the comté of Bourbon, which was immediately afterwards created a duchy by the king. They stood nearest to the throne, and if Francis II., and his three brothers died without issue, the succession would lapse to the head of the "Bourbon" house, then represented by Antoine de Bourbon, duke de Vendôme, and by marriage with Jeanne d'Albret, titular king of Navarre, and lord of the principality of Bearn. Antoine had two brothers, the cardinal de

Bourbon, a good humoured, common place personage, and Louis, prince of Condé, one of the first generals of his age; several cousins, moreover, among whom we need only mention the duc de Montpensier, and the prince de la Roche sur Yon.

“Catherine de Medicis,” queen dowager, was, as her name indicates, a scion of the ducal house of Tuscany, and as remarkable for her beauty as for her mental powers: but still more, perhaps, for the unflinching resolution with which she followed out her schemes. As a near kinswoman of Pope Pius IV., it was, perhaps, natural the interests of Catholicism should lay near her heart; but still nearer lay her love of power, and she had therefore determined to secure the regency, no matter at what cost. It was, however, only possible to do this by identifying herself with one or other of the great parties, for thus only could she secure the material preponderance necessary to maintain her position. But which of the two was it wiser for her to adopt? that of the duke of Guise, or that of the king of Navarre? The choice for a pope’s niece was not difficult, especially as the Guise, inspired as they were by the same sentiments as her own, met her half way. The alliance with them was soon effected, and the supreme power shared between Catherine, Duke François, and their respective partisans. The next step was to send the Bourbons from the court, and deprive them of nearly all political influence; the head of the house, King Antoine, being banished to his Bearnais possessions, the prince de Condé despatched on a diplomatic mission

to Madrid, and the connétable, Anne de Montmorency, deprived of the command of the army in the most complimentary manner practicable.

It may well be supposed the Bourbons of those days were little disposed to submit to such contumelious treatment, and they at once set themselves earnestly to the task of dispossessing the Guises of the power they had so monopolised. The fiery Condé was especially indignant, and at once appointed a private conference with his most trusted partisans, at his chateau de La-ferte, on the borders of Champagne, to determine the course it behoved them to adopt in this emergency. Among the friends who answered the appeal were Gaspar de Coligny, of the house of Chatillon, grand admiral of France, a man alike distinguished for courage, steadfastness, and military experience, and Coligny's brother, Dandolot, one of the most daring and resolute soldiers France has given birth to. Both were generally considered to be in favour of the reformed doctrines, and thus when the majority of the council appeared ready to adopt the desperate resolve of immediately attacking the despotism of the reigning faction, sword in hand, Coligny opposed the idea, feeling the far superior numbers of the enemy would inevitably ensure defeat, and warmly advocated an alliance with the oppressed and persecuted, but very numerous adherents of the reformed church; for thus not only a strong party in France could be consolidated for their cause, but the sympathy of a great part of the people of England and Germany secured to it.

The suggestion met with general approval. It was

unanimously resolved to overthrow the Guise by help of the Protestants, and the admiral, and his brother Dandolot, and the vidame of Chartres, of the Bourbon-Vendôme house, were commissioned to win over the chiefs of the reformed party, under promise, of course, that Calvinism thenceforth receive the same legal recognition as Catholicism. Thus, the alliance of Catherine with the Guise, called into existencethe opposing alliance of the Bourbons with the Protestants, who, until then, had been of no political weight in the state. But this very alliance threatened at its commencement to bring about the complete ruin of Protestantism. La Renaudie, a Protestant noble, far more brave than prudent, bitterly exasperated, too, at the indignities to which his brethren in the faith had been so long subjected, joined himself to a considerable number of malcontents in the city of Blois, with the intent of seizing the Guises, and the whole court assembled there. Confiding in the support of the Bourbon princes, now the declared champions of the Protestant cause, he proposed the young king should be compelled to appoint the Prince de Coudé, the defender of Calvinism, sole regent. The plot was, however, betrayed; the Guises carried off the king to the strong castle of Amboise, which they fortified as well as was practicable, and gathered within it all their disposable forces. But as La Renaudie followed fast on their traces, there was some danger he might take the castle by storm. Therefore Duke François had recourse to treachery, and despatched the duke de Nemours to the chiefs of the malcontent Protestants, with the promise that their requisitions, if respectfully sub-

mitted to the king, should be immediately satisfied. La Renaudie believed these promises, and sent fifteen of his bravest companions to arrange the terms of the settlement at Amboise; but scarcely had they entered the castle, when they were seized as rebels, and immediately shot.

La Renaudie, exasperated at the treachery, put his troops to a forced march; but the Guises had found time, whilst the negotiations were pending, to collect additional troops, and the Calvinists, overpowered by the superior numbers of the enemy, either died on the field of battle, or were taken prisoners. Short work was made with the captives. The following day they were all decapitated, hanged, or drowned; whilst the king, his brothers, the queen mother, and the ladies of the court, watched the execution as it had been some gay court festivity.

So closed the so-called Amboise Plot (March 18th, 1560), closed with the destruction of all who had taken part in it. But the Guise were not yet satisfied; for, convinced that the Calvinists or Huguenots (the adherents of the reformed church received the latter title of opprobrium after this fatal conspiracy *) were their

* The word "Huguenot" had a peculiar origin. In the city of Tours, the belief was current that every night the phantom of the long dead King Hugo rode through the streets, passing out at the "Hugo-gate." And as the Calvinists there at first only ventured to hold their meetings in great privacy, and under cover of darkness generally, using a certain house near the Hugo-gate for the purpose, they thus acquired the designation of Huguenots. As by chance the first clue to the Amboise Plot was discovered in the same city, and the name of opprobrium, originally a merely local one, was shortly employed to designate all the Calvinists throughout France.

most dangerous enemies, they determined on their complete extirpation, and to that end despatched orders into every province of France for the immediate suppression of Protestantism. This command was not in every instance obeyed; but it was so in the greater number, especially throughout Dauphiné, then administered by the duke of Guise, and Provence, where Tavanne, General-lieutenant of the kingdom, held the chief authority. In both the royal will was carried out with a barbarity rarely equalled.

The Guises not only made persons of the lower classes the object of their persecution, they boldly attacked those of high social position. The prince of Condé was seized, and summarily condemned to death by the servile parliament of Paris, November 26th, and they persecuted the king for the immediate fulfilment of the sentence. But Francis II. had fallen sick on the day of the trial, and died within ten days, on the 5th of December, 1590, leaving the death warrant unsigned. The throne devolved to his brother, Charles IX., then but ten years of age, and once more a regency was necessary. Catherine, as mother of the youthful sovereign, had the strongest claim to the dignity; but she feared the pretensions of the duke of Guise, whose all-engrossing power had been very irksome to her during the latter years of the life of Francis. She, therefore, in all haste sought an alliance with the king of Navarre, and promised that if he would support her with his party, she would immediately liberate the prince of Condé, suspend all Huguenot executions, and finally summon a parliament of the kingdom, by which the position of

the Protestants might be legally settled. The king of Navarre accepted the proposal, and Catherine became by his aid ruler of France, and guardian of her son, the king.

By this sudden revolution in the government, the Protestants found their political status completely changed, and in place of the persecution to which they had been a short time since constantly liable, they were now suffered to enjoy an interval of complete toleration. On the 17th of January, 1562, the queen regent published an edict, granting them full liberty to practice their religion in every city of the kingdom. But this toleration was of short continuance: Pope Pius IV. was so exasperated by it, he determined to inaugurate a method of heretic extirpation, of a kind never before adopted. His project was to unite in a league all the Catholic potentates of Europe—the emperor of Germany, the king of France, the duke of Savoy, and the various Italian princes, that by their combined action all that was called Protestant might be effectually crushed. The project was a grand one, and the Guises at once gave their adhesion to it, even uniting in its interest with the cardinal de Medici, their declared enemy, but a thorough Romanist. The pope despatched Cardinal Ferrara, and Lainez, the General of the Society of Jesus, into France, attended by a whole army of mendicant friars, to prepare the people, but, still more, the great nobles and barons of the kingdom, for the approaching struggle. From village to village the monks wended their way, calling on all men to gird on their swords against the heretics. The Jesuits were still more effec-

tively employed ; they succeeded in exciting discord in the Bourbon camp, and by fair promises even seduced the Cardinal de Bourbon, and the king of Navarre, to their side.* Still the prospects of the Huguenots had much of hope in them, their doctrines gained daily new proselytes among the lower nobility, and more respectable of the citizens ; so that soon there were two thousand communities formed of the new faith, and in Normandy scarcely a town or village could be found in which it did not include the majority of the inhabitants ; whilst its triumphs were scarcely less in Guienne, Languedoc, Cevennes, the principality of Orange, in Champagne, in Dauphiné, &c., &c. Indeed, never had Protestantism numbered so many adherents in France as at this epoch, and a war between the two religious factions would inevitably be as protracted as it must be sanguinary in its character.

The duke of Guise gave the signal for hostilities. Proceeding to Paris with his brother, the cardinal de Lorraine, he halted at Vassi, a small town in Champagne. It was Sunday, and the inhabitants attached to the reformed doctrines were celebrating their religious rites in a barn, without the walls. Observing this, the Guise cavalry surrounded the building, mocking and

* The pope even promising the titular king of Navarre that he would induce the king of Spain, who was actually in possession of Navarre, to renounce it in favour of the Bourbon prince, on condition the latter joined the league. Whilst, if the king of Spain refused this arrangement, the Holy Father engaged to make over the island of Sardinia in compensation. Promises of the like character were made to the other chief Protestant leaders ; but the latter were not caught by the bait, and rejected the infamous offers with contempt.

insulting the worshippers with every form of contumely, and when answered in kind, had immediate recourse to their weapons, rode into the barn, striking and trampling down men, women, and children; all, indeed, within their reach. More than sixty unarmed Huguenots were murdered on the spot, and several hundred severely wounded; so that the title of the Vassi Massacre, given to the day's achievement, was but too well merited. Though the whole town rose to drive away the murderers, the duke succeeded in drawing off his troops without the loss of one man. He might, however, feel convinced a Huguenot rebellion would now be inevitable, and after gathering a few thousand more of his partisans under his standard, hastened on to Paris to secure the capital for the League. He had no difficulty in achieving this, for the majority of the population were devoted Catholics, and welcomed him with every mark of enthusiasm.

He immediately sent the boy king, and the whole court to Melun, for greater security, armed all the Parisians upon whom he could depend, caused the Huguenot places of worship in the faubourgs to be burnt down, authorised the people to plunder and slay all heretics, and finally announcing to the pope, and the king of Spain, this first victory, called on them for their promised aid.

The war—it was called the First Huguenot War—was begun in earnest; for the prince de Condé, who assumed the leadership of the Huguenot party since the defection of his brother, King Antoine, now united with its chief adherents, to repel force with force, and

fittingly respond to the Catholic challenge. From the city of Orleans, which he had taken with the help of the Protestants, on the 2nd of April, he now issued a manifesto to all the reformed Churches in France, calling on them to send forth their veteran soldiers to Orleans without delay, and wrote to the queen of England, and the Protestant princes of Germany, especially the Elector Palatine, to entreat their support. Condé's manifesto did not fail in its purpose. Not only a considerable reinforcement of soldiers was shortly collected in Orleans, but the Huguenots made themselves masters of Lyons, Rouen, La Rochelle, Grenoble, Nîmes, &c., upwards of fifty cities in all, where they had outnumbered the Catholics, though naturally these triumphs were not won without some bloodshed. The Guises, and their partisans, followed much the same tactics, called on all the nobles of France, in an address published April 21st, to join them in arms to put down the "bad Christians," and forced the youthful king, who was completely under their influence, to issue an edict, declaring that the royal will could recognise but one religion in France. They naturally secured every city in which the Protestants were in the minority; but subsequently acted in a way very different to their antagonists, for their policy was not to "overpower" merely, but to "annihilate" all who offered resistance.

Then followed an internecine warfare, whose horrors might well defy our credence. Rapine, murder, wholesale devastation, the faggot and the axe, were the means by which the Catholics trusted to ensure their triumph. The papal Governor of Avignon set the example, when

leader, and the wound proved so severe that in a few days he expired. The loss appeared so irreparable to Catherine de Medicis, that she immediately determined to make terms with the Protestants.

On the 7th of March the first negotiations to this end were set on foot, and by the 12th a treaty was concluded. Those of the reformed faith were guaranteed complete liberty of conscience, received full authorisation to erect their houses of worship in the suburbs of the larger towns, though not permitted to practice the rites in Paris. It was not so much religious freedom as tolerance rather, now granted them, and there could be no question of religious equality with the Catholics; yet the Catholic prelates, especially the pope at Rome, were enraged beyond measure at the indulgence shown to these pestilent heretics. The civil war, though it had lasted but a year, had brought France to the verge of ruin; towns and villages without number were desolated; thousands of the peaceful inhabitants, now beggared and homeless, wandered about the country, dependent on public charity; robbery, extortion, wild rapine, adultery, murder, had usurped the place of justice and social order; whilst of religion, or even its outward indications, scarce any vestige was left; in short, nothing but a prolonged peace seemed capable of restoring prosperity to the country; but the pope concerned himself little in such matters, and grew wrath at the very name of peace. His unceasing endeavour became to find some means to procure the renewal of the strife, and to this end excommunicated Queen Johanna of Navarre, for refusing to bring up her son

Henry as a Catholic, and directed the grand inquisitor, Espinosa, to seize the queen and the prince, either by force or fraud, and transfer them to the dungeons of the Inquisition at Seville.

Such a command was in violation of all public law ; but it would not the less have been fulfilled, if the prudent queen had not known how to secure her safety, and outwit the cunning of the chief of the Holy Office. The astute Cardinal Antinori, who had been sent on a secret mission to France, contrived an interview about this time between the queen mother and the queen of Spain, at which the duke of Alva, the duke of Savoy, and the cardinals of Lorraine, Armagnac, Strozi, and Montluc were present. Antinori was the directing spirit at the "secret congress," held under cloak of gay court festivities, at the chateau de Roussillon. Two points were determined on at it: firstly, that all the Catholics of France, Spain, and Italy, should unite in a "holy league" or brotherhood, for the "honour of God, and the defence of the Catholic church and the papacy;" and, secondly, the complete suppression of the Reformation in France, securing, above all things, the chief Protestant leaders,* and in one or another way expedite their departure for the next world ; that, in fact, "a general massacre of heretics was the only means by which a lasting religious peace could be restored to France." Not until this, and some other questions of moment had been debated and

* The duke of Alba declared :—"It were needless to take the profitless trouble of catching frogs, but rather earnestly set oneself to securing the salmon, and other large fish, since 10,000 frogs were not worth so much as one salmon."

settled, did the two queens bid each other adieu ; whilst those who looked not below the surface, imagined they had met but to indulge in courtly diversions and gay banquets.

The whole truth was not known until many years later ; but the Protestants would appear to have felt some misgivings ; for when the queen regent directed the enlistment of 6,000 Switzers, and certain intercepted letters indicated a new blow in preparation by the Catholics, Condé and Coligny called their bravest partisans to a secret council of war, August, 1567, when it was determined under no circumstances to idly wait until with hands and feet bound, they should be dragged to the Paris scaffolds. The Huguenot general knew full well that if the enemy, who already possessed the advantage of greatly superior numbers, besides holding nearly all the fortified places in France, were allowed an opportunity of striking the first blow, their own ruin would be inevitable. It was, therefore resolved, that on the following 29th September, 1567, all the Protestants in France should simultaneously draw the sword, and thus anticipate the designs of their opponents.

A vast conspiracy was formed, and they succeeded not only in keeping the secret until the appointed day, but surprised and secured no less than fifty fortified places, besides the cities of Orléans, Alby, Nîmes, Montpellier, &c. They almost obtained a still greater triumph in securing the person of the king, who was then residing in the town of Manx. He must have fallen into their hands but for the Swiss troops, who

had but just arrived, and immediately hastened to the rescue of the court. The queen mother and her son contrived to reach Paris in safety, and immediately summoned all good Catholics to arms. She, moreover, despatched messengers to Rome and Madrid, entreating auxiliaries; and eight companies of mounted men-at-arms, from the Spanish Netherlands, and three regiments of infantry, under the duke of Aremberg, shortly arrived; whilst the papal Gonfaloniere, Ludovico Gonzaga, was fast approaching, at the head of 14,000 additional troops, Swiss and Italian, whom he had collected with the ecclesiastical funds.

The Huguenots were quite unable to resist such overwhelming numbers, and Condé, after performing prodigies of valour at the battle of St. Denis, where Montluc died, retreated into Champagne, to unite his forces with those of John Casimir, the Elector palatine, who brought him 6,000 cavalry, and 3,000 free lances, from Germany. The Huguenot affairs again seemed to promise well; the more so, since the Italian auxiliaries in the army of the league set all military discipline completely at defiance. Under these circumstances, and to avoid almost inevitable discomfiture, the queen mother proposed an amicable arrangement, which was finally settled the 23rd of May, 1568, its provisions being founded on much the same basis as the peace of 1563. Condé's army was almost immediately disbanded, and his German auxiliaries returned home.

France enjoyed peace once more; but what manner of peace was it? Jesuits, and begging monks swarmed over the land, and publicly taught; no one was bound

to keep his word with a heretic, whilst it behoved every good Christian to take up arms, and smite the Huguenots unto death. Thus incited, the Catholics in many places formed themselves into bands of pious assassins, and during April, May, and June, killed no less than 10,000 of the detested schismatics. The Protestants complained; but neither the government, nor the law, nor the queen mother, gave any aid against the wrong. Indeed, the purpose aimed at by Catherine, might have been foreseen with little difficulty, when Pope Pius V., in May, 1568, authorised her to sell church property to the amount of three million livres, on condition of applying the net proceeds for the extirpation of the reformed doctrines.

The queen, in an edict issued in September of the same year, commanded the Huguenots to relinquish all dignities and offices of public trust which they might hold, within fourteen days, under penalty of death, and confiscation of their property; at the same time forbidding the practice of any religion but the Roman Catholic, throughout France.

Then followed the third Huguenot war, to which Pope Pius again furnished a contingent, under the command of the count de Santa Fiore, his natural son. The Huguenots obtained aid in money from England, and soldiers from Germany. For two years fortune was undetermined which side to favour; at length the queen saw the hopelessness of conquering the Huguenots in the open field, and concluded a third peace, that of St. Germain, on the 8th of August, 1571, by which they were accorded much wider privileges than any they had

yet been promised. Not only was complete religious liberty granted them, with authorisation to fulfil all public charges, but they received as a pledge of the sincerity of these favours, the keys of the cities of Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charité.

This peace, at least, seemed likely to be a lasting one, and its fair promise was attributed to the fact that Charles IX. had now attained his majority, and necessarily exercised a far greater influence on the government than before. But the young monarch had grown up under maternal influence, completely demoralised, with not one feeling of honour or compunction; and so consummate a hypocrite, that he not only deceived all about him, but, in nearly every instance, Catherine de Medici herself. During the peace negotiations, he not only studiously assumed the most marked friendliness towards the Huguenots' plenipotentiaries, but assured the brave Teligny, Coligny's son in law, and La Noue, bras-de-fer,* in confidence, he believed it would be for the general welfare and religious peace of France, since a foreign war was the best preventive of civil strife, to assist the Protestants of the Netherlands against the king of Spain, and further effect the marriage of his own sister Margaret, with Henry, the young king of Navarre. The Huguenot chiefs implicitly believed in his sincerity. Admiral Coligny, in compliance with the king's desire, consented to present himself at court; and Charles, at the head of his ministers and favourites, with the queen mother and her train, went forth from

* La Noue had replaced an arm lost in battle by an iron one; thence his sobriquet.

Blois to meet the brave old admiral, with every observance of the most affectionate respect. Charles even assured his guest, with tears in his eyes, he had never known "so happy a moment," and felt, "that thenceforth all the troubles which had distracted his kingdom would cease. "The king had become a true friend to the Protestants, had laid aside all Romanist intolerance." Might not all men have so hoped; the more so, since he seemed so anxiously bent on concluding the royal alliance, which was to be the pledge of complete reconciliation; and was not Coligny appointed to the command of the future army against Spain?

Not long after this, at the commencement of the year 1572, the pope despatched his nephew,—or son, Cardinal d'Alessandria, to the French court, charged with inducing Valois to give his sister in marriage to the king of Portugal, instead of to the heretic king of Navarre. Such, at least, was the ostensible object of the cardinal's journey; but it was, in truth, assumed, but the more completely to blind the Protestants to the actual designs of Charles IX. The cardinal had, in fact, come to remind the prince of the plan long since determined on at the chateau of Rousillon, and that it was full time for its realisation. The king promised in private its fulfilment; and then, at a public audience before the whole court, emphatically rejected the proposal made by the legate respecting the princess, declaring that he more respected the queen of Navarre, who was then at court with her son, Henry, the princes of Condé, the count of Nassau, and a numerous retinue, than even the pope; and that if the latter, on the plea

of too near consanguinity, "should refuse a dispensation for the union of Prince Henry and Princess Margaret, he (the king) would, none the less, lead her with his own hand to the betrothal."

Thus the Valois duped the whole world to his real feelings, and effectually banished any trace of misgiving from Admiral Coligny's bosom. In vain certain of his brethren in the faith reminded him of La Rochelle, and the undying enmity of the Catholic to the Protestant, of Queen Catherine's oath, to destroy all heretics, of the king's personal character, moulded from his youth upwards on the doctrines of Machiavelli; finally, of the papal edict, by which men were forbidden to keep faith with the heretic: but the admiral persistently maintained "there were no longer any grounds for suspicion and disbelief, for God had clearly turned the heart of the king." These opinions, held by Coligny, was gradually adopted by the majority of the Huguenot leaders, and Charles sought to give it greater weight, by making an apparent reconciliation between Henry, the young duke of Guise, son of the murdered duke, and Coligny, —although the Guises regarded the latter as morally responsible for the deed. Then, when the marriage of the Princess Margaret with the king of Navarre, August 18th (the ceremony had been deferred from July 10th, when it should have taken place), on account of the death of the Queen Johanna, was finally celebrated, it would have seemed mere madness to longer doubt the honourable intentions of the French sovereign.

So stood affairs at Paris, when a premature occurrence almost betrayed and brought to nought all the

plans Charles IX. had so carefully nursed to the eve of fruition. Admiral Coligny, returning to his own residence from an interview with the king at the Louvre, was fired upon from the window of a house, by which he was slowly riding. The shot carried away the forefinger of his right hand, and severely wounded him in the left arm. His followers immediately forced their way into the house in search of the assassin, who had, however, already made good his escape. A horse, saddled and bridled, had been held in readiness for the purpose at a back door. No doubt could be entertained but that the assassin was a certain Nicholas de Maurevert, one of the most trusted servants of the Duke of Guise, who had, indeed, already murdered one of the admiral's intimate friends. The house whence the shot issued belonged to the Prebendary Villemuire, formerly tutor to the Duke of Guise; moreover, it was usually occupied by the servants of the duke when the latter visited Paris. Thus every circumstance seemed to indicate that the contriver of the attack belonged to the Guise faction, and the Huguenots spoke openly this belief, and with the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé at their head, declared their intention to leave Paris when their lives were imperilled. What course shall we find Charles adopting in this dilemma? He immediately summoned Henry of Navarre (now his brother-in-law), the Prince de Condé, and the other chiefs of the Huguenot party; expressed his grief and indignation in the most emphatic terms at the attempt against Coligny, and solemnly swore contriver, instrument, and accomplices, should expiate the crime on the

gibbet. To give greater weight to his vows, he caused horsemen to be despatched in every direction in pursuit of the murderer; a special commission appointed to thoroughly sift the affair, and even signed an order for the arrest of the Duke of Guise, so that the latter was compelled, for the time (the necessity lasted but twenty-four hours), to seek concealment. Nor was the king content with even these measures; he visited the wounded admiral on the following morning, accompanied by the queen mother, his two brothers, and a crowd of courtiers and court ladies; showed, apparently, the tenderest sympathy with the sufferer, and swore the most terrible oaths such dire vengeance should be exacted for the wrong; it would remain for ever an example to the world.

Queen Catherine spoke to the same effect; and Coligny, Teligny, the King of Navarre, and the greater number of the Protestant leaders, were effectually thrown off their guard. They remained with their followers in Paris; but the Vidâm de Chartres, in his bold fashion, advised the immediate declaration of hostilities against the Catholics, or, at the least, immediate departure from Paris, previous to a rendezvous at La Rochelle. His counsels, however, found little encouragement; and he left the capital almost alone, for no persuasions could induce him to remain.

The king clearly saw the impression produced by Maurevert's premature act could not be quite effaced,—the Protestant population of the city and faubourgs having been, in some degree, awakened from their dream of security. He therefore determined that the work to

be done should be done without further delay; the promise he had made the pope fulfilled, and the long-contemplated Protestant massacre made an accomplished fact. Scarcely had Charles returned to the Louvre from this visit to Coligny, than he had a long confidential conversation with the queen mother; and the chief nobles of the Catholic party were summoned to a conference, to be held that evening in the gardens of the Tuilleries, to determine on the fittest method of carrying out the royal views. A dread tribunal assembled that night at nine o'clock! There were present, besides the king and queen mother, the Duke d'Anjou, the Duke de Nevers, the Count d'Angoulême Grand-prior, the Chancellor Birago, the Maréchal Tavannes, and Count Gondi-Retz.

The king explained his design; and it was unanimously agreed to give it unconditional support,—thus the annihilation of all the Protestants in France was succinctly determined on. The following night was to be the epoch of their destruction in Paris; and special messengers were sent to the various provincial governors throughout the land, to command their immediately following the example given by the capital.

The pope and the king had fully settled the affair between them,—the latter swearing by “God’s teeth,” his favourite oath, “not one of the reformed faith should survive to reproach him with the deed, except two only,—the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé” (they were to be spared on account of their close relationship to the royal house),—but with the condition of reconciliation with Rome. Scarcely had

the general course of action been determined on, than the confederates separated to make the preliminary arrangements, and with a rapidity, quiet secrecy and energy, that may well excite our wonder. Firstly, the Duke of Guise, who, for the last two days, had pretended to be in hiding, was called to the palace and charged with the chief conduct of the whole scheme of slaughter, especially with the murder of Coligny, with which it was to be inaugurated. The duke assembled the chief officers of the Swiss Guard, and those commanding the royal troops, and informed them of the king's will in the royal presence; then summoned Charon, the Maire of Paris, and the Prevôt of the Merchants, Claude Marcel, and, still in the presence of Charles, charged them to close the gates of Paris, and distribute arms to all the Catholic inhabitants; finally arranging the subsequent proceedings with the Maréchal Tavannes; "the soldiers to be posted, 'after midnight,' in the front of the Louvre; the burgher guard distributed in various quarters of the city, and every Catholic to carry a white cross on his hat and a white scarf round his left arm; the signal for the massacre to be given by the great bell of the Louvre; and as soon as that was heard, all egress from the city to be prevented, and Catholic houses distinguished by lighted pitch torches before their doors; armed burghers then to force their way into all Protestant houses, and cut down every heretic discovered."

Such were the orders given, and they were carried out to the letter. Not one of the thousands initiated into the secret seems to have shrunk from the crime.

Among the more distinguished of the Protestant leaders, for whom Charles professed a peculiar friendship, were Teligny, La Noue, and the amiable Count de Rochefoucault, and with them Charles supped and played on that St. Bartholomew's eve. But he felt no compunction for the doom awaiting them; only his chief surgeon, Paré, with whose skill Majesty could ill afford to dispense, did he care to rescue. Charles summoned him, indeed, to the palace, and locked him with the royal hands into the royal dressing room, then mounted to his forge, and occupied himself in his accustomed manner until the hour for the massacre had approached.

The second hour after midnight, and that of early mass had not yet sounded from the tower of St. Germain de l'Auxerrois on the 24th of August—a Sunday, and the feast of St. Bartholomew—when the Duke de Guise, accompanied by his uncle the Duke d'Aumale, and the Count d'Angoulême, proceeded with three hundred armed followers to the residence of the grand admiral. They knocked at the door; and Labonne, Coligny's major domo, demanded who it was required admission. "Open in the name of the king," was the reply; and Labonne, unsuspecting of evil, drew back the bolts, and the next instant fell pierced with a hundred wounds. The servants attending Coligny's sick bed, awaked by the disturbance, hurried down stairs, but flew back terror-stricken on seeing the court-yard full of armed men. They secured the house door; but the Duke of Guise had it burst open, and after every one encountered by his retainers had been slain, three of his noble partisans, Lebesme, Sarlabous, and Archille

Petrucchi, accompanied by a guard of soldiers, mounted to the chamber where lay the admiral. Coligny raised himself with an effort, and grasped at the sword hanging over his pillow; but he was too weak to wield it, and sank back with a groan. The assassins at once pierced his breast with their daggers, then hacked his face and body with their swords; scarcely had they thus wreaked their vengeance than they flung the still palpitating corpse from the windows to their leader below, who cast it out to the mob, by whom it was dragged through the streets, and finally hung on a gibbet. The Leaguers then ransacked the whole house, murdering all they found within it,—Teligny, and Coligny's adjutant, the brave Guerchi, among the number, though both fell only after the most desperate resistance, and with their bodies covered with wounds.

The massacre had fairly begun, and a messenger informed the king of Coligny's fate. Immediately the bell of the Louvre pealed ominously through the silence, and in a few instants was re-echoed from every church tower in Paris; the signal given; the streets were simultaneously lighted with gleaming pitch torches and cressets. The dead stillness of night suddenly changed into wild shrieks and tumult; followed by their men-at-arms, the Dukes of Guise, Nevers, and Montpensier, and Maréchals Tavannes and Retz, hurried through the city, crying, "Down with the heretics!" "Kill! kill!" was re-echoed by the vast mob already collected. All Huguenot dwellings were broken open; whoever was found within them, murdered. Hastily awakened from sleep, unarmed, but half dressed, few, indeed, escaped,

for those who reached the open air were struck down like wild beasts enclosed within a circle of hunters. There was safety nowhere; and soon every street ran red with blood, and grew more and more encumbered with the bodies of the slain. Sex or age, rank or distinguished services, were alike disregarded; men slaughtered even their nearest kindred with devilish impartiality; Catholic lads, scarce ten years old, rushed about with borrowed daggers to murder Protestant children in their beds. Soon nothing could be heard in the city but the report of musketry, mingled with the cries and groans of the victims, the crash of breaking doors and windows as the houses were forcibly entered, and fiercely, continuously above all else, the frantic shouts and curses of the murderers. Many who might possibly have saved themselves, losing all self-possession in the horror of the scene, sought death by their own hands.

Revolting as was the aspect of the streets, that presented by the stately halls and staircases of the Louvre was still more so. A few moments before the appointed time, Charles, with his mother and brothers, took their place on a balcony, to witness the opening of the spectacle. Silently he sat gazing into the still night, until suddenly the report of a musket immediately below was heard, and he knew by the signal that Coligny had ceased to live. Then the king rose, and, with frantic exultation, commanded the great bell to be rung. It pealed over the city, and, whilst giving its terrible message, the Swiss Guard were marshalled by their officers into two long-drawn lines, to be ready to strike down every Huguenot who should attempt to enter or

leave the Louvre; another detachment under Coconna and Cruice, took possession of the corridors of the palace, and thence proceeded to search every chamber where Protestant nobles or servants were lodged, dragged them from their beds into the court-yard, where, under the orders of d'O, colonel of the guard, they were all put to death. Yet this was enacted as noiselessly as possible, so the King of Navarre, who was lodged in the opposite wing, should not be awakened, and the danger of an armed resistance very possibly incurred. Henry of Navarre had invited the Prince of Condé and several of his most trusted friends to his apartments at midnight, on the 23rd, to consider what course it behoved them to pursue if King Charles refused adequate reparation for the attempt against Coligny. The discussion lasted some hours; and it was finally resolved to demand redress from his Majesty on the following morning, once more; and in the event of his refusal, at once declare to him they were resolved to attain it then by their own hands. Feeling little inclined to sleep, as it was now three o'clock, a game at tennis by moonlight, in the court-yard, was proposed to pass the interval until the king could receive them. Scarcely, however, had the friends entered the outer hall than they were seized by the guard and disarmed, before, in the confusion of the moment, they could use their swords in self-defence. The King of Navarre and the Prince de Condé were at once led to the balcony where sat the royal Valois, and there they first learnt the horrors enacting around them. The open square below the balcony was filled with a tumultuous, half frantic

crowd; at a little distance, a great heap of corpses, looking still more ghastly in the lurid light of the torches flickering round them. King Charles had a musket levelled, ready to fire on the poor wretches who might attempt escape by swimming the Seine. "Kill! kill! (tuez! tuez!) he shrieked, as Condé and Navarre entered, and he turned to take another piece, just loaded by an attendant stationed behind the royal chair. So was the sovereign of France occupied all that night. The two Bourbon princes shrank back horror-stricken; the king then first noticing their presence, cursed them as rebels and infidels; swore, unless they renounced their "Godless unbelief" within three days, their heads should pay for it. He then commanded their removal to a secure place of confinement, but where their lives would not be endangered. A very different destiny awaited their friends; they were at once dragged into the court-yard, and immediately despatched. Many offered a desperate resistance; they were unarmed, but they managed to get possession of the swords worn by their murderers, and, at least, sold their lives as dearly as possible; some endeavouring to escape through the palace, were pursued by the Swiss soldiers from chamber to chamber, and felled to the ground without mercy. By four o'clock that morning, scarcely a nook or corner of the stately Louvre but was befouled with blood. More than two hundred of the bravest and most influential of the higher ranks of the Huguenot aristocracy, and more than six hundred of the lesser nobles and knights, found their death there that night. Of all lodged under the royal roof, only Condé, Navarre, and five others, were

spared; the latter only from having found refuge in Queen Margaret's bedchamber.*

Whilst the hours thus passed within the Louvre, the massacre went on with unslackening fury throughout the city. No single house, where there seemed a possibility of a concealed Huguenot, but it was immediately ransacked. Every form of robbery, wholesale plunder, and violence, were superadded to this orgie of blood. The armed citizens and soldiers were joined by a vast crowd gathered from the vilest dregs of the populace, who seized with fiendish delight the opportunities thus offered to the indulgence of their passions. None of the reformed faith escaped, but a certain number on the other side the Seine, in the Faubourg St. Germain,—among them Colonel Montgomery, Vidame of Chartres. When the Duke of Guise had advanced against that quarter of Paris, he found the drawbridge raised, by which, alone, it could be entered. He immediately sent for the keys; but a considerable while elapsed before they were brought, and, meantime, one of the Protestant fugitives had managed to swim the river and

* They were the Dukes of Grammont and Duras, the Seigneur of Armagnac (Navarre's High Chamberlain), the Seigneur of Bons (his Master of the Horse), and Captain Gaston de Layran, bleeding from many wounds, and hotly pursued by a company of the guards; they forced their way into the chamber of their master's consort, and she, though but half dressed, faced the leader of the assassins (Nancai) so resolutely that he dared proceed no further, as he could not without employing personal violence to his sovereign's sister. He retired; Margaret made fast the door, and having waited till the tumult without had subsided, hurried to the king her brother, and throwing herself at his feet, refused to rise until he had granted the lives of the five whom her courage had saved.

carried intelligence of what was passing to his brethren on the other side. They, of course, at once sought safety in flight, though in such panic that many who went on foot hurried away shoeless, without the simplest article of dress, and others who had horses never stayed for saddle or bridle. Still, despite this, many succeeded in distancing the pursuers and reaching Calais, crossed the channel to England; but a far greater number were less fortunate, and being overtaken by the duke, were relentlessly murdered.

At length the sun arose; but on what horrors was its light to fall! On every threshold the dead and dying lay heaped together. Blood ran down the streets as in a slaughter-house, and the Seine was so completely choked with corpses that no boat could cross it. Tens of thousands had been killed, still the work of death was not allowed to cease; it continued by daylight with the same fury as in the darkness. The actors in the dire tragedy seem to have lost every feeling of humanity, and to have revelled in its horrors like Carib Indians at some monstrous orgie of blood. Many wore in their hats, in place of the white cross, the ear of a murdered Huguenot; some tossed dead heads and hands to each other in grim playfulness; others formed in procession behind a cross, on which a Protestant babe hung crucified. Not until vespers had sounded did the king give orders for the people of Paris to return to their dwellings; for, during the night, none but the royal bodyguard were allowed to perambulate the streets. Few, however, paid any regard to the order; and murder and robbery continued through that night and

the next day. That the king did not care to be taken at his word when he commanded the massacre to cease, we may conclude from the fact that, towards evening, he and his mother and her fair maids of honour went in a gay *cortège* through the blood-stained streets; and the gay laughter and pleased aspect of the royal party sufficiently proved the grateful nature of the spectacle offered them. The ladies appeared to find especial interest in inspecting the Seine, with its multitude of naked corpses thrown from the Louvre. The king, in passing the gallows on which the great admiral hung in chains, declared "the scent of Coligny's corruption was a sweeter savour in his nostrils than the perfume of roses and violets."

Whilst Paris was thus weltering in blood, like scenes were reproduced in the provinces, especially in their larger cities. On the nights of the 23rd and 24th, the king's messengers were speeding far and wide over the land, to bear the royal orders to all governors of towns and provinces, directing them to seize the persons and property of the Huguenots, and let loose the jealous fury of the people against them. The officials obeyed implicitly with but rare exceptions; and thus at Lyons, Orleans, Bordeaux, Toulouse, &c., &c., during the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth of August, as great a murder festival was held as that consummated on Bartholomew's eve at Paris. Though a few honourable men opposed the royal will, as, for example, the Vicomte d'Ortez, Governor of Bayonne, who wrote to the king: "He had made known his Majesty's pleasures to the people and soldiers of Bayonne, but could find no one to act as

executioner." Very few places escaped blood guiltiness; even in the smallest villages, a Bartholomew's eve was solemnized; and, in many localities, a virulent epidemic broke out from the effluvium of the unburied corpses left exposed in the fields. Speculators turned the tragedy to profitable account by boiling down the bodies, and drove a brisk trade in human fat. We have no means of ascertaining the exact number of the Calvinists who perished; it is given respectively at 50,000 and 100,000.* The truth lies, perhaps, midway between the two accounts; and we may conclude that about 70,000 persons were murdered.

It was, therefore, no marvel the joy of the orthodox passed all bounds, and that the old man at Rome was well-nigh beside himself in the greatness of the triumph. He took no pains to conceal his satisfaction; on the contrary, immediately on receiving the news, summoned the cardinals to proceed in solemn procession to St. Peter's, to give God thanks, whilst the cannons of St. Angelo thundered proudly, and the streets of Rome were illumined by bonfires. A great jubilee, and plenary indulgence was appointed by the Holy father, in his joy, on receiving the head of Coligny, which had been preserved in spirits, by order of the king, whilst he further rewarded his dear son with the title of "Piissimus," most Christian.

* The celebrated Sully states the number of the killed at 70,000, whilst the historian Perefie, who wrote a biography of Henri IV., published in 1661, places it at 100,000. Of this we may be assured that the most sanguinary campaign had never cost so much in human life; for in the capital alone, 10,000 Huguenot corpses were counted!

This was especially illustrated in Languedoc, then governed by the Intendant de Baviile, and in 1685, despite the revoked edict, the rites of the Protestant faith were still celebrated there.

De Baviile, on learning this enormity, at once marched to suppress it, had the congregation dispersed by his soldiers, whom he commanded to put the women and children to the sword, and secure the men for transmission to the galleys; the preachers seized were immediately drowned, or died on the rack.* Yet, despite all this, the Protestant faith was still far from completely suppressed; and though, after a time, none of its ministers dared openly perform the service of their church, yet many of the people, excited by the enthusiasm persecution always gives birth to, believed themselves called on to "preach repentance," and administer spiritual consolation to their brethren. They thus went through the country from house to house, and their number by 1688 was already very considerable. These "preachers of repentance" adopted, as much as possible, the verbal style of the prophets of the Old Testament, and claimed with them the gift of prophecy; they were very numerous throughout all lower Languedoc, and especially in the Cevenne mountains. The Intendant Baviile naturally showed not more mercy to these new preachers than he had done to their more regular predecessors. In one edict of Nantes was revoked, and the king ⁴⁷ bidden, under penalty of death and confiscation of their property, from practising their religion. All Huguenot's children were to be immediately baptized according to the Catholic ritual, and thenceforth educated in

Catholic powers—the King of Spain and the Duke of Savoy, especially,—received the apostolic orders to march upon France, and extirpate the heretics within its borders. The pope (Sixtus V.) even preached a general crusade, and declared that he who killed Henry of Navarre, or any of his heretical confederates, “though it were in their sleep,” would accomplish a godly work.

We naturally cannot enter at length on the Huguenot struggle in France. Our purpose, here, is but to indicate “in what wise” the popes represented the duty of Christian charity; and the reader who has accompanied us thus far will have already seen sufficient exemplification of it. But the consequences of the Huguenot war were widely different to those anticipated at Rome. On the death of Charles IX. and his two brothers, despite the papal fiat, it was not the Duke of Guise, the rebel chief of the ultra-Catholics, but Henry IV., the legitimate heir of the house of Valois, to whom the crown of France descended; and he, by the Edict of Nantes, which secured full religious liberty to the Huguenots, at once put an end to the troubles that had so long distracted the country.

But the peace did not last long; the popes could not have consented to its doing so. Urban VIII. persuaded Louis XIII. to attempt once more the destruction of Protestantism; and the holy father had the satisfaction of seeing La Rochelle, after a siege of fourteen months, forced to surrender under the pressure of famine. But his hope that the king would, within a few days, “utterly uproot all the remaining heretics in the country,” so wrote His Holiness to the King of France, was doomed

1702. The assailants were immediately pursued by the soldiery, many seized, and immediately put to death, though a still greater number got away to the mountains, where they resolved to make good their position at any cost. Their example proved contagious; other bands were quickly formed under leaders such as Castanet, or the still more remarkable Jean Cavalier, the son of a poor peasant. Thus originated the Cevennes or Camisade war,* which only ended after well nigh 100,000 men had fallen in the name of religion.

It was at first imagined but little difficulty would be experienced in suppressing the rebellion. Peasants, and all persons suspected of supplying food to the Camisades in the mountains, were summarily executed; in the town of Alais alone sixty-two were hanged on this pretext; yet, as the number of the so-called brigands multiplied, and reprisals were soon taken by them (they burnt Catholic churches and murdered the priests), more effective measures were felt necessary. Pope Clement XI. preached a general crusade, and granted plenary absolution to all who should take up arms for the extermination of this "cursed and loathsome brood." Louis XIV., under full papal approval, sent, in 1703, twenty battalions of infantry, under Marshal de Montrevel, into Languedoc, to suppress the insurrection; but the affair was not to be so speedily settled, though Montrevel hesitated not to employ a barbarity which might well

* The origin of this second designation is very obscure; possibly, it not's children were to be immediately baptized according to the Catholic ritual, and thus they were called in way robber.

defy credence. Not only did he cause every one taken with arms in their hands, and every person, man, woman, or child, suspected of aiding the rebels, to be burnt on his monster bonfires, but he completely desolated more than a thousand parishes, with all the villages and hamlets within them ; killing the inhabitants, burning down houses, every thing, in fact, which could be given to the flames. Still the Camisades repudiated all thought of submission ; they had, indeed, several successful engagements with the royal troops, and by 1704, Cavalier found himself at the head of an army of 1,000 foot and 200 horse, who spread terror in the enemy's ranks whenever they appeared, and refused all quarter to Catholics. The king then sent Marshal Villars, his best general, into the Cevennes, at the head of a larger army, where it would appear probable that the enemy numbered, perhaps, 10,000 or 20,000 men. The Camisades were unable to longer support the unequal contest ; yet Villars owed his success less to his military tactics or strength than to treachery and corruption, and the assurance he caused to be published that all who submitted should be allowed to dispose of his property and leave the country without let or hindrance. He thus detached a great many from his opponents, and having discovered a cavern employed by them as a powder factory, magazine for stores, and hospital for the sick and wounded, Cavalier resolved to accept the flattering offer of a colonelcy in the royal army, and was therefore "reconciled" to Catholicism, together with the greater number of his followers. The original insurgent chiefs, Roland, Ravanel, and Catinat,

denounced him as a traitor; but Villars sent his agents with heavy purses among their own adherents, and they were soon betrayed into his hands. Thus closed the Camisade war, after four hundred towns, villages, and hamlets, had been burnt, and 50,000 Protestants, and as many Catholics, had perished. Still the reformed faith continued to exist in France, as we see by the fact that, in 1728, a Huguenot minister was hanged at Montpellier, whilst thirty-six years later, a Huguenot synod was held in a retired corner of Lower Languedoc, at which fifty secret Huguenots' communities were represented.

Later, in 1744, Protestantism again seemed recovering something of its earlier vigour; and though more than three hundred persons were put to death for their faith, yet general enlightenment spread so fast that the papal appeals were comparatively unheeded. Francois Rochette, who suffered at Toulouse, February 18th, 1762, was the last French martyr for conscience sake; and since the revolution of 1789, Protestantism has been legally recognised in France, to the great scandal of the apostolic throne.

EXTIRPATION OF PROTESTANTISM IN ENGLAND.

A far different destiny awaited the reformed doctrines in England than that they encountered in France. Yet, on the death of Edward VI., Catholicism appeared likely to again rise supreme. Queen Mary I. at once opened negotiations with the pope; caused all Protestant preachers and teachers to be imprisoned; whilst Cardinal Pole,

the papal legate, appointed Catholic bishops to episcopal sees, and even induced the parliament to pass the most merciless laws against all dissentients from the orthodox church. The position of English Protestants was greatly aggravated during the four following years. In 1554, the pope effected a marriage between the elderly queen (Mary was then forty years of age) and the saturnine, bigoted valetudinarian, Philip of Spain, who was but six-and-twenty. The English sovereign became the veriest slave of the consort for whom she entertained her infatuated and ill-repaid love. In imitation of the Spanish Inquisition, by the advice of Pope Julius III., she established the so-called Heretic commission, formed by twenty-six judges, presided over by Bishop Bonner; and then commenced a system of persecution in England, which even Innocent III. could scarcely have wished more ruthless. Every possible form of punishment was employed with the lower classes to bring them back to the Church, whilst the reformed clergy were summarily imprisoned, and made to choose between death and recantation.

More than eight hundred Protestants, bishops and members of the lower clergy, thus suffered martyrdom,—among them, Latimer, Ridley, Ferrer, Hooper, and Cranmer; whilst with each year the furious zeal of the queen seemed to burn fiercer. The pope was jubilant *in excelsio*, and caused a medal to be struck in her honour; but disaffection began to show itself among the people, and, but for the queen's death, in 1550, a rebellion inevitably would have broken out.

Elizabeth began her reign on a very different policy;

and in defiance of the bull of anathema* thundered against her by Pope Pius V., February 25th, 1570, at once restored Protestantism to the position it has ever since maintained in her kingdom. Such a miscarriage to their best hopes must have been a cruel blow to the Romanists; but they failed not to try every means to overthrow the high-hearted heretic queen, though failure followed each new attempt. Thirty years later, Clement VIII. succeeded in fomenting a rebellion in Ireland, which lasted during four years, and carried desolation over the whole country. The rebellion arose in 1595, when His Holiness graciously presented the island to the King of Spain. The latter accepted the gift, and despatched a considerable army to assist the rebels. The Spanish commander of the expedition was Don Aquila, who had received from the pope, in its honour, the glorious title of "Restorer of the Faith."

On the 24th of December, 1601, the united Irish and Spaniards were completely routed by Lord Montjoy, of Kinsale; and the sister island bowed once more under the English sceptre, whilst the papal propaganda had no other result than the destruction of a great number of the inhabitants and the confiscation of their estates.

* In this Bull, the queen is designated as the most godless and depraved wretch existent on God's earth, for had she not refused reconciliation with Rome. Pius absolved all her subjects from their oath of allegiance, and called on the Duke of Alba to take ship for England, to re-establish the papacy throughout the land, which his holiness, moreover, presented forthwith to King Francis II. of France, who assumed the arms and titles of the kings of England, and despatched a body of soldiers to Scotland; but Elizabeth, happily, intercepted them, and they were obliged to capitulate.

For forty years, there was peace in Ireland; but in 1641, the Roman legate, Rinuccini, contrived to excite the Catholics to revolt once more, and the whole priesthood at once assumed the direction of the movement. The scheme was a reproduction of the French St. Bartholomew; and on October 23rd, 1641, the Irish Catholics fell on the unsuspecting Protestants and murdered not less than 50,000; women, old men, young children, none were spared; and only by rare good fortune and rapid flight did any escape alive. The rejoicing at Rome was boundless at such a triumph, and Pope Urban VIII. announced a grand jubilee year in its honour; but retribution inevitably followed, though for eight years deferred. In 1649, Cromwell landed in Ireland; took the chief cities by storm; put all their inhabitants to the sword, and, in nine months, poured out more Catholic blood than all the Protestant that had ever flowed there. Since then, Catholicism in Ireland has been subject to greater or less repression; and the efforts of the popes have culminated in a widely different result than that proposed by them.

IV.—EXTIRPATION OF PROTESTANTISM IN SPAIN.

That Protestantism should ever make its way into Spain in defiance of the sleepless watchfulness of the Inquisition might well have been doubted; and assuredly it would never have done so, but for the union of the two crowns of Germany and Spain on the head of Charles V.,—a union which had resulted in a continual intercourse between the two countries; so that the Spa-

niards grew acquainted with Luther's doctrines as early as the year 1519. Even before that date, the great reformer's writings had penetrated beyond the Pyrenees, and were so eagerly sought after by their new enthusiasts, that Leo X. found himself called on to issue a Bull (March 20th, 1521), directing the Grand Inquisitor of Spain to cause all such writings to be diligently searched for, and their dissemination prevented. The Inquisition obeyed; private dwellings were ransacked, and all persons found in the possession of the offending works thrown into prison, the Holy Office declaring it as "pious an achievement to kill a Lutheran as to slay a Turk in battle." Yet, notwithstanding this activity, the heretical doctrines found ever new converts, even among the highest ranks of society,—such men, indeed, as Don Juan Valdez, Secretary to Charles V., and Don Rodrigo de Valer, the wealthy noble of Sevilla. Both were seized, and, by various means, brought to renounce their "errors;" but they were, none the less, imprisoned for life in a monastery, to avoid any danger of their inoculating others with their earlier heterodoxy. Still undeterred by their fate, new converts eagerly adopted Protestantism,—the famous preacher, Don Juan Gil, commonly called Dr. Egidius, appeared openly in a pulpit in Seville, to enunciate doctrines scarcely distinguishable from the Lutheran. He was, however, compelled to retract them, under threat of close imprisonment for life. But the seed sown by him had fallen on a fruitful soil; and in about the year 1555, a secret Protestant community was

formed in that city, and held its meetings in the house of a noble lady, Dona Isabella de Baena. We may observe that the members of this society belonged generally to the higher ranks of the nobility; and thus it happened that, for some length of time, they remained unmolested.

It was but a short while after this, when Francisco Enzinas translated the New Testament, and Juan Perez the Old,* into Spanish. The translations were secretly conveyed into Spain; the new teaching then spread rapidly among the common people, and Protestant communities as rapidly increased. Among the more important were those of Seville, already referred to; of Valladolid (founded by Francisco San Roman, who expiated the crime on the scaffold), Toro, Zamora, Valencia, Osma, Logrono, &c., &c. Within a brief period, Lutheranism threatened to establish itself throughout the length and breadth of the land; and had the Inquisition but delayed its desperate remedies a moment longer, all Spain would have been infected with the heresy. Strangely enough, it was not until 1557 that the Inquisition gained any clue to the existence of these Lutheran communities. Then one

* Enzinas had the New Testament printed at Lowen; Perez, the Old, in Geneva; but, for some length of time, few copies of either could be smuggled into Spain. Pope Julius III., in a bull issued in 1550, denounced the strictest prohibition against the new kind of contraband wares. Seven years later, Juan Hernandez, generally called Juan el Pequeno, a corrector for the press at Geneva, and a very keen-witted fellow, undertook to deliver two barrels of Bibles in Spain, over the Pyrenees. He successfully fulfilled his contract, cheating the servants of the Holy Office by the false bottoms in his barrels; and the contents were safely deposited with one of the most devoted Protestants in Seville.

of the spies maintained by it at Geneva obtained information of a large consignment of heretical books, —translations of the Bible among them—having been despatched thence to Spain; and, of course, every means was employed to discover the recipient. Juan Hernandez, known to have previously smuggled the Bible into the peninsular, was the first person arrested. During three years, every possible ingenuity of torture was employed to make him betray his fellow believers in vain, and the Inquisition would still have been defeated but for the wife of Juan Garcia, a goldsmith; she, under the influence of her confessor, denounced her husband, and betrayed the place of assembly used by his co-religionists. The terrible tribunal was at last on the right trail, and within a few days 200 persons were thrown into the prisons of the Inquisition at Valladolid; more than 800 into those of Sevilla. This happened at the beginning of the year 1558; and Paul IV., who was as energetic as he was cruel, published a brief on the 15th of February of the same year, charging Valdez, Grand Inquisitor of Spain, to destroy “utterly all Protestants and friends of Protestantism, though they might be bishops, archbishops, patriarchs, cardinals, nuncios, or barons, counts, dukes, princes, kings, or kaisers,” so ran the words of His Holiness; and Valdez carried them out but too willingly. The Holy Office enjoyed the full support of the temporal power, for Philip II. sat on the Spanish throne. An example was to be given the world how heresy should be exterminated root and branch. The Inquisition employed two years in its requisite preparations; and then,

in 1560, were inaugurated those dread religious exhibitions known to us as *Autos da fé*.*

The *Auto da fé* (Latin, *actus fidei*, act of faith) was generally consummated on a Sunday, and the principal square of the town was employed for the celebration. With daybreak the bell of the chief church began to toll, the inquisitors within a short period proceeded to the prisons, to array the victims. Each received a so-called "san benito," *i. e.*, a wide yellow cloak; but with this distinction, that the san benitos of those who were to be strangled before being given to the flames, bore the painted flames upon them turned downwards, whilst the san benitos of the others doomed to be burnt alive had the flames turned upwards, and amid them devils, with three-pronged forks, dancing grotesquely. The tall pointed paper cap placed on the victim's head, was adorned in the same ingenious manner.

The first *Auto da fé* took place on Trinity Sunday, May 21st, 1559, in the city of Valladolid, and in the presence of the infanta Don Carlos, the queen mother,

* The *auto da fé* was intended, indeed, to typify the last judgment. When the prisoners had been made ready, and the civil authorities and clergy assembled in the hall of the Inquisition Palace, the great procession was at once marshalled. First went a division of soldiers; then a multitude of priests in their robes, followed by the children from the various schools, singing hymns; then came the prisoners, each with a crucifix in his bound hands, a halter round his neck, and accompanied by a monk on either side; then the local authorities, with various *grandees* on horseback, the secular and regular clergy; then, with solemn, measured steps, the members of the Holy Office, preceded by their treasurer bearing a red standard; finally came its so-called "familiaris," also on horseback. Solemnly the long-drawn procession wound into the place of execution, where vast, indeed, had been the preparations for all the multitude of spectators attracted by the coming spectacle.

Johanna, and many thousand of the highest born in the realm. More than eight hours were required for the business of the day—from six o'clock in the morning, until two at noon, indeed, before the six ladies and eight noble gentlemen, condemned, were beyond the reach of further suffering.

The second *Auto da fé* followed in October, 1559, also at Valladolid, the whole court, king, and infanta included, honouring the spectacle with their presence. The succeeding "acts of faith" came rapidly on each other in every city and town in Spain. It was at Sevilla, however, they maintained their greatest importance, where rarely less than thirty or forty heretics were burnt on each occasion. We are not to suppose heresy was confined to the laity, many members of the higher clergy were affected by it; among these twenty-five doctors of theology, eight bishops; even an archbishop of Toledo, Bartolomeo de Caranza y Miranda, were obliged to submit themselves to the tribunal; not, indeed, that they were complete Lutherans, but in this or that dogma they had, perhaps, somewhat fallen away from the exact standard of Rome.

With the year 1570, and after one hundred and fifty-six *Autos da fé* had taken place, Protestantism expired in Spain, and it never again raised its head there; for, though in 1680 a magnificent *Auto da fé* was held at Madrid, in honour of the marriage of Carlos II. with Marie Louise de Bourbon, among the sufferers we find the name of but one Protestant recorded, and he being a fugitive, was only burnt in effigy.

A very different result followed the crusade against

the Reformed faith in the Spanish Netherlands. Philip II. introduced the Inquisition there, to extirpate, as in Spain, every trace of religious freedom; but there the indignation of the nation was aroused, and a rebellion followed, which the king failed to suppress, despite the magnificent army at his disposal, despite the genius, and the cruelties of his accomplished general and executioner, the duke of Alva, under whose axe the heads, not only of thousands of the lower ranks, but of the chief nobles in the land, alike fell. Philip's *Alter ego* established the so-called Council of Blood, whose jurisdiction all the local authorities were bound to obey; and "inspired by the pope, from whom he received the title of 'Defender of the holy Catholic faith,' and a hat and sword blessed by the successor of St. Peter, as though the ruthless instrument of Papal and Spanish persecution had been a sovereign prince," he caused more than 8000 persons to be executed in the market-place of Brussels alone, whilst the number of those killed throughout the provinces may be estimated at 100,000. But the Netherlands won their freedom, and Spain having sacrificed its army, and incurred a debt of 800,000,000 piastres, sank to the status of a second-rate power.

V.—EXTIRPATION OF PROTESTANTISM IN ITALY.

It might well be thought impossible that the doctrines of the Reformers should ever penetrate into Italy, the very seat and focus of the papacy; yet so it was, though not in the same measure as in France, Spain, and England. At the very commencement of the movement,

many of Luther's, Zwingli's, and Melancthon's writings, made their way over the Alps, and were translated into Italian.*

The new doctrines met little favour, however, among the lower classes, and were chiefly confined to persons of higher rank and education; but after the translation of the Bible, published at Venice, in 1530, by Antonio Brucioli of Florence, a great change was manifested. The people eagerly read the book so long closed to them, and so great grew the demand, that many editions rapidly followed each other, whilst fresh translations were made by Fra Zaccario, Felippo, Rustici, and others. Many Protestants crossed the Alps into Italy during the Italian campaign of Francois I. of France, against Charles V., and did not fail to hold many a controversy on the subject of their faith with those of the old creed, and thus aided the movement.

Heresy, indeed, was taking root in the peninsular, and Clement VII. writes in 1530 :—" With what grief of soul he has learnt that in many places throughout Italy Lutheran doctrines had not only spread among the laity, but had even taken hold of the priesthood and the monks; this, too, in so virulent a degree, that not merely in the private conversation of the latter, but in their public teaching, they seek to spread the evil among their ignorant listeners." Protestant commu-

* To evade the watchfulness of the Holy Office, the Italians printed the works of the heretic teachers under pseudonyms: thus, Melancthon became Messer Ippofilo di Terra Negra; Zwingli, Corricius Cogelius; Martin Bucer, Aretius Telinus; whilst Luther was exalted into Cardinal Fregoso.

nities were organised, the members meeting for worship in the house of one of their number. This was the case at Faenza, where the court favoured the new doctrines, and in Modena, several of whose citizens had been in correspondence with the great German Reformer as early as 1520; in Bologna, in Venice, always one of the least obedient children of *the church*, and in Milan, Lucca, Naples, Sicily. There was, indeed, an universal movement in favour of religious freedom, and Cardinal Caraffa might well declare that if an immediate plan of repression were not adopted, a general abandonment of the Church might be feared. Such were the characteristics of the year 1542; but the pope resolved to lose no longer time in applying the required remedy.

The Inquisition offered the readiest means for destroying Protestantism; but the Inquisition as it existed in Spain was now needed. It had long been established in Italy, and was charged with the denunciation of heretics; but they were immediately placed in the hands of the bishops, to whom the conduct of the trial appertained. The Inquisition in Italy possessed no independent jurisdiction, no distinct tribunal, as in Spain; but it was now felt that only by such a tribunal would it be possible to save the orthodoxy of the country from the threatened flood of schism, and Paul IV. proceeded, therefore, to constitute by a Bull, bearing date April 1, 1543, the "Congregation of the Holy Office," under six cardinals as grand inquisitors, and forthwith decreed that all matters touching heresy should be thenceforth submitted to the new court. The "Congregation" at once entered on its active duties, established Provincial

tribunals; no single state in the peninsular resisted the innovations; even Venice and Naples submitted, though under some unimportant restrictions. Arrests were immediately commenced, and so great grew the terror, that all who feared liability to suspicion at once took flight for Germany or Switzerland. Still the prisons were crowded to overflowing, for the towns and cities swarmed with multitudes of paid spies, who, provided with every facility for introducing themselves to the most distinguished of the nobles and citizens, soon contrived to penetrate into every family circle, and kept the inquisitors informed of all that came to their knowledge. At first, accused persons were only subjected to imprisonment, as it was hoped by the moral torture of solitary confinement in the dungeons, they might be brought to recant: but, by 1550, this process was discovered to be much too tedious, and the public burnings were commenced, as in Spain and elsewhere.*

We cannot enumerate all these individual sufferers, or the multitudes that perished on the rack; we must

* In Venice alone the victims were not burnt, but simply drowned, yet the silence and mystery accompanying these executions rendered them, if possible, more terrible to the imagination than those at the stake. The condemned was taken at midnight from his dungeon, gagged, that he could utter no sound, placed in a gondola, and rowed out beyond the arsenal to the sea; there another gondola was in waiting, his hands were made fast, a great stone secured to his feet, then a plank laid between the boats, on which he was made to stand, and, at a given signal, the rowers pulled off in opposite directions, the plank fell into the water, and the victim disappeared below the surface for ever. Many perished thus at Venice: among them not a few highly distinguished men, such as Giulio Guirlando, Antonio Richetto, Francisco Spinola, and Baldo Lupetino, the monk for whom so many German princes in vain interceded.

BOOK V.

POPE AND INFALLIBILITY.

"Last ein Pfaff sich blicken
Geht der Recht auf Krücken.
Thut aber du Oberpfaff anrücken
Muss selbst der Teüfel sich bücken."

Altes Lied.

"If a priest but show his nose,
Justice upon crutches goes.
Should the mighty pope appear,
The devil himself must bow in fear."

Old Song.

"Die einzige vernuiftige Liebe ist die Liebe zu sich selbst ; und ein Scheffelsackvoll Recht wiegt nicht so viel als eine Handvoll Macht."—
Paschalis, 1.

"The only rational love is love for one's self ; and a bushel of justice weigheth not so much as a handful of power."

CHAPTER I.

PERIOD PRECEDING THE GREAT SCHISM.

"THE Pope is infallible!" This dogma was early enunciated by the successors of St. Peter, who deduced it from the premise that the Church, in its corporate capacity, cannot err," thus reasoning: "We, the chief head of the Church, representing the unity of the Church, which is, as it were, typified and absorbed into our person, so that its infallibility passeth to ourselves. All question of the fact is inadmissible, for we are God's vicegerent upon earth; and, therefore, our decrees may be regarded as emanating from God himself. It is through us the Holy Ghost holds communion with mankind; and it is by the direct intervention of the Holy Ghost that we are appointed; for is it not with the following words that we receive the sacred tiara: 'Accept thou the triple crown, and know that thou art the father of princes and kings, the ruler and guider of the world, the vicegerent of our Redeemer, Jesus Christ, upon earth.' " * Thus, at the moment we

* The words used at a papal coronation are—"Accipe tiaram tribus ornatam, et scias te esse patrem principum et regum, rectorem orbis, in terra vicarium salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi," &c., &c.

assume the papal dignity, all mere human affections fall from our person, and only the spirit of God remains within us. Nor could this be otherwise; for has not our office "been appointed by God, so that our utterances shall be held as the utterances of God. He who created the world would not commend its guidance to an erring, uncertain, humble mortal." Such are the arguments of the pope and his adherents. But let us briefly investigate this "Infallibility." Let us especially mark the strange methods by which the influence of the Holy Ghost declares itself, and has always declared itself, at the papal elections.

In all that concerns papal infallibility, it must be conceded that the bishops of Rome exhibit a marvellous consistency; each follows in the steps of his predecessor, maintaining all that earlier popes maintained; each bows to the traditions handed down from his great forbears, and carries on the work they began, in devout pursuance of its original design. But the popes may be well content to accept this policy, for only thus could the proud edifice of the papacy be raised to its full completion. Still, here and there, slight discrepancies make their appearance even in church dogma, and a pope denounces that which his predecessor had made orthodox. We will cite a few instances; they will, at least, deserve a smile from the reader. Bishop Julius I. (337-352) had completely adopted the opinions of Bishop Athanasius regarding the Arians; his successor, Liberius (352-366), on the contrary, damned Athanasius everlastingly to hell fire, and expelled him from the community of the

Church, in obedience to the wishes of the Emperor Constantius. Two years later, Liberius having reflected over this sentence, and, under the influence of certain bishops of the eastern church, was suddenly induced to declare the Athanasian doctrine perfectly orthodox. The inconsistency so greatly incensed Constantius that he deposed Liberius, and appointed a certain Felix in his place; but the noble dames of Rome were so heart-broken at this, they proceeded in a great deputation to the emperor to entreat the restoration of their exiled favourite. The emperor's heart was softened by their prayers, and he promised Liberius forgiveness on condition he would abandon his obstinate opposition to the Arians. The disgraced bishop, on learning this, at once expressed his readiness to meet the imperial will, doubtless having found the society of his fair penitents in Rome far more congenial than the dreary honours of banishment. Felix was sent into a monastery, and Liberius reinstated in his former dignities, and thenceforth took good heed only to write and speak in full accordance with the "heretic" Arians. A brief of Liberius is still extant, in which he denounces in the most emphatic terms the "orthodox" Athanasius. Seventy years subsequently, Zosimus (417-418) acted much in the same manner. The Church, at that time, had fallen into a sorely distracted state. So great was the opposition excited by the heretical teaching of Pelagius, that the Christian camp was divided into rival orthodox and Pelagian factions. Pope Innocent I. (401-417) was on the orthodox side, and anathematized Pelagius and all his adherents; the succeeding

pontiff, Zosimus, reversed the sentence, and declared Pelagius orthodox; then the Emperor Theodosius II. took up the dispute, and obliged Zosimus to declare the Pelagian doctrines schismatical. The bishop of Rome, as a discreet courtier, dared not refuse; and he not only rescinded his formal recognition of them, but pronounced the eternal ban of the Church against their author, in proof of the unerring infallibility of papal judgments.

The popes fell into still more striking self-contradiction in the dogmas regarding the Sacrament; Bishop Julius (337-352) declared that the "distribution of the bread and wine alike to each communicant was a divine ordination, and a custom of apostolic origin." Leo the Great (440-451) went still farther, and decreed "all persons who would partake of the body of Christ without drinking his blood should be thrust out of the communion of the Church." Pope Gelasius (492-496) declared emphatically that those who accepted the bread and left the chalice were undoubted heretics, for the separation "of one and the same mystery could not be without a great sin against God." But before the close of the twelfth century, the succeeding popes had announced the "chalice" must be foregone by the laity, who were, in future, to partake of the sacramental bread alone. This canon then became a fundamental dogma, as it exists to the present day, whilst anathema was fulminated against all who should question it. Thus, despite infallibility, certain inconsistencies make themselves sufficiently evident in the theology of Rome; but it is still more surprising to find a pope charge his predecessor with

mental incapacity. This happened, however, when Bishop Hormisdas (514-523) declared that the assertion, "one of the persons of the Trinity had been crucified," was truly monstrous; for his successors, John II. (532-536) and Agapet I. (536-537), replied, that if none of the persons of the Trinity had so died, then the Son of God had not been born in the flesh, and the Virgin Mary was not the mother of God, as the Church had so long acknowledged her to be; regardless of the false position in which they placed the memory of the heterodox pope, they declared his teaching on this point as "godless as it was mad," which, indeed, orthodoxy still holds it to be.

Papal infallibility was placed in a still more cruel dilemma by Bishop Vigilius (538-555). The Emperor Justinian, who occupied himself much more with theology than with the government of his dominions, declared the doctrines of the now dead Theodore of Mopsveste, Theodoret of Cyrus, and Ibas of Edessa, as heterodox, though their writings had received the approval of the Council of Chalcedon. The bishops of the Eastern church were devoutly in accord with Constantinople court theology, but the prelates at a greater distance from imperial influences—especially Vigilius, bishop of Rome—firmly, though respectfully, declined to pronounce the ban against the three offending "fathers." Vigilius was then cited to appear at Constantinople; and so well did the emperor and his consort use their various methods of conviction, that the bishop shortly denounced Ibas and his two associates as heretical in the highest degree. He then pronounced the ban against them,

and promised to bring his episcopal brethren in the West to the like adoption of the imperial views. Justinian was not content, however, with a mere promise;—his convert was made to swear, on the “four Evangelists and the holy nails:”* he would do all in his power to secure the condemnation of the said theologians throughout Christendom. A great council was summoned at Constantinople in 553, to solemnly ratify the religious doctrines adopted by the emperor, who, indeed, had never doubted an instant of their ultimate triumph. But the Western bishops proved stiffnecked, and informed Vigilius, through the archbishop of Milan, that under no pretence would they recognise the condemnation of the three said doctors. They even threatened all who accorded obedience to the imperial demands with exclusion from the communion of the church, and brought Vigilius into so distracted a state of mind that he seems to have well nigh lost his reason. At first he was quite irresolute; then, on reflecting that, as “patriarch of Rome,” the unity of the Italian, French, and Spanish church was of higher moment to him than even the favour of the Byzantine emperor, he wrote off to the archbishop of Milan, stating, that subsequent reflection had induced a change in his opinions;—that he was firmly resolved not to condemn Theodore of Mopsveste and his brethren. “But whilst the emperor thus exercised his restraining power, he could not openly acknowledge his changed views, and should be obliged to act with discretion.” This letter was despatched by a

* Those by which Christ had been fastened to the cross, and which were afterwards preserved in the Santa Sophia.

confidential messenger; but Justinian learnt its contents and immediately cited the perjured priest to appear before him. Vigilius sought sanctuary in a church, trusting the emperor would respect the sanctity of the place; but great was his self-deception. Justinian caused the doors to be forced, and the offending prelate seized and thrown into prison. His place of confinement could not have been very secure, for he contrived to escape and get from Constantinople by sea to Chalcedon, where he found concealment in a monastery. The emperor was incensed beyond measure at the offender having thus evaded justice, and laid the document, in which Vigilius had solemnly agreed to pronounce the condemnation of the three theologians, before a council shortly assembled at Constantinople, and demanded that the name of the said Vigilius should be erased from the records of the church as a perjurer. The council proved obedient: the name of the bishop of Rome was struck from the lists of the priesthood, and the great anathema pronounced against the three fathers. What course was now left for Vigilius to adopt? Within three months his Chalcedonian banishment had grown very irksome; and he therefore wrote to the patriarch of Constantinople, that in seeking to evade the will of his Majesty by flight, the evil spirit had held "possession of him; but now, after maturer study, he had grown but too certain that Theodore of Mopsveste and his two associates were utter heretics; and he therefore held himself ready to damn them to the lowest depths of hell, and all others who might share their views." Such an admission was highly welcome at Constantinople. Still, the fugitive

was not at once to enjoy imperial favour : he was obliged to draw up a long statement, declaring the invalidity of all he had formerly said, thought or done, in support of the said Theodore of Mopsveste, Theodoret of Cyrus, and Ilas of Edessa. Only after this solemn and public recantation was he allowed to return from exile, and reinstated in the Roman see. But he was fated never to enjoy his restored dignity : he died on his journey back ; and thus all his foresworn promises and recantations proved of no avail.

John XXII. was guilty of no less flagrant contradiction to his predecessor Nicholas IV. than Vigilius with himself. Nicholas IV. had constituted the poverty of Christ an article of Faith ; John XXII., however, declared such a dogma to be heretical and blasphemous. Then a doctrine propounded by John : that the Holy Virgin, apostles and saints, would not enter heaven until after the day of judgment, has been denounced by those who have since sat on St. Peter's chair ; " For if it were so, how could they (the Virgin, apostles, &c., and saints) intercede for us or obtain the release of a poor soul from purgatory ? " The pope's declaration excited strong opposition, especially from the Paris theologians, so that under their influence King Phillip of France informed this " Infallibility " at Avignon, he should be seized and delivered to the flames as a heretic, unless he immediately recanted. The pope, who felt no longing for the palm of martyrdom, at once expressed his readiness to retract all his offensive doctrines, and declare them heterodox.

Even in modern times the popes have sufficiently

often fallen into reciprocal contradiction. Clement VIII. (1592-1605) was thus at variance with Sixtus V. (1585-1590) : the latter had directed the famous Latin translation of the Bible, known as the "Vulgate," to be made, and after inspecting it page by page, declared it the "only, true, just, and orthodox" rendering of the original text. Clement VIII. had the work notwithstanding revised, and caused such very important emendations to be made, that the new edition was in many places seriously discordant with the earlier one. A still more interesting example of the farcical character of this pretended infallibility, was afforded by Urban VIII. (1623-1644), in his controversy with the famous mathematician, Galileo, who, both in his capacity as professor of the university of Pisa, and by his numerous published writings, had supported and explained the solar system propounded by Copernicus, in which the sun was recognised as a fixed star, round which the earth performs its revolutions.

Paul V. considered such a theory very questionable, and summoned a Congregation of cardinals to investigate the new theory. The cardinals devoutly obeyed the requisition, and certified from the plenitude of their wisdom, that the earth did not revolve round the sun, nor was it of a spherical form ; therefore pronounced the Copernican theory heretical, and in opposition to the scriptures. Galileo was summoned before the pope (this occurred in 1615), but passed the ordeal unscathed, thanks to the all-powerful advocacy of his great patron, Cosmo, duke of Florence ; though obliged to promise that for the future he would neither by his lips

nor pen endeavour to disseminate the "blasphemous system," but spend the rest of his days in silent retirement. For sixteen years Galileo made no sign; then he could endure this inactivity no longer, and wrote his famous dialogue on the "Copernican and Ptolemaic Systems," which appeared in 1632, and at once excited the great attention. Galileo imagined the truth must at length prevail over the old leaven, even though it were not in accord with the teaching of the church; he trusted, moreover, to the friendship the new pope, Urban VIII. had, when a cardinal, always shown him. In the latter reliance he was cruelly deceived. Urban, on the appearance of the "Dialogue," at once summoned a congregation of cardinals to investigate the book, and determine if it were in agreement with the doctrines of Christianity. The result of this investigation might easily have been foreseen; the cardinals were neither mathematicians nor astronomers, but men as narrow-minded as they were bigoted.

Galileo's book was condemned as heretical, and the author cited to appear in Rome before the pope, in the winter of the year 1633. What choice was left the poor philosopher now his potent friend and protector, Cosmo, was no more; and, moreover, the government of Florence had fallen into the feeble hands of Duke Fernando II. He felt he had no alternative but obedience; he declared his willingness to submit to the will of His Holiness; and Urban, despite their former friendship, consigned him to prison until sentence was pronounced. The sentence, indeed, had long to be awaited; but the cardinals finally came to a decision, and on the 20th of

June, 1633, in accordance with it, Galileo on his knees, with his hand on the Evangelists, was to forswear the truths he had demonstrated, or prepare for death at the stake.

Galileo was then seventy years of age, and he consented to forswear the truths he had demonstrated; but as he rose from his knees, despite himself, stamped indignantly on the ground with his foot, and cried: "E pur si muove" (it moveth none the less). For this he was immediately transferred to the dungeons of the Inquisition at Rome, and for three years allowed no food but bread and water, no occupation but the compulsory duty of recounting a rosary nine times each day, and each day re-reading the seven penitential psalms of David. So was the great thinker, Galileo, employed by the head of the church. Late in 1637 he was liberated, but placed under the strict supervision of the bishop of Siena, who was charged to watch that the penitent relapsed not into his former errors.

Not until the nineteenth century, during the pontificate of Pius VII., did Rome finally accept the Copernican system, suppressed, until then, under penalty of excommunication. We may cite one other characteristic illustration of papal infallibility. The same Urban VIII., of whom we have before spoken, decreed that no one, whether priest or layman, should chew, smoke, or inhale tobacco by the nostrils in church; whilst Innocent XII. threatened the great anathema against any person who, in defiance of this prohibition, dared use snuff in St. Peter's. Benedict XII., who succeeded to the apostolic chair in 1724, was a great snuff amateur,

and found it necessary to reverse all these ordinances, and forthwith accorded the faithful, "without prejudice to their eternal welfare," full permission to indulge in a pinch, even during the celebration of divine service. *Punctum satis!*

More marvellous in its working than even papal infallibility is the infallibility of the papal elections; and those who can seriously contemplate each pope's nomination as the result of an inspiration from the Holy Ghost need a faith more than sufficient for the removal of mountains. In what manner these elections were effected, the reader may have seen, at least, in a few particulars in an earlier page; and the earthly influence predominant will have been sufficiently patent even in them. To fittingly crown our sketch of papal infallibility, we would adduce a few examples, where the Holy Spirit seems but too evidently to have been replaced by a spirit of quite other than celestial attributes. After the bishops of Rome became rich and powerful, and by the conversion of the emperors, their episcopal See an object of general ambition to those of the priesthood whose hearts were set on the pomps and vanities of the world, it happened that upon the death of Bishop Liberius, two pious men—Damasus and Usicinus, the former a presbyter, the latter a deacon—contested the honour of sitting on St. Peter's chair. Each had his partisans among the lower classes of Rome, and thus both, though in different churches, were simultaneously ordained to the coveted office. Two bishops for one see was contrary to all precedent; and daily contests between the followers of each arose, ending often in

bloodshed; but for whom the ultimate triumph was reserved seemed long uncertain, so equally in a numerical point were their followers matched, whilst the Exarch (the Emperor Valentinian resided at Constantinople) declined to decide between them. At length Damasus offered a very large bribe to the imperial Alter ego, when the latter summarily commanded Usicinus and his chief partisans to quit Rome or prepare for captivity. Usicinus took sanctuary in a church, believing the Exarch would not dare violate the sacred precincts; and, indeed, he then hesitated to carry out the decree of banishment. But so much the more resolved was Damasus, who, collecting his adherents, armed them with swords or clubs, as the case might be, stormed the church where his opponent lay, and immediately set fire to it on all sides. Usicinus and one hundred and thirty-seven of his followers were killed in the tumult; and Damasus effectually rid himself of his rival, and ruled, thenceforth, without opposition. Though he had killed that rival by his own hand, he was subsequently deemed worthy the honours of canonization. Circumstances greatly similar in character followed the death of John I. (526). Though three candidates now disputed the throne, and for more than a hundred days, the streets of Rome were daily the scene of sanguinary encounters. At length the Longobard king Dieteric appeared before the walls of the eternal city, appointed his candidate, Felix IV., bishop, and threatened to put every one to the sword who should dispute his title. Peace was thus established, at least, for a few years; but scarcely had Felix died, *anno* 530,

than Rome was split into two factions once more, headed, the one by a certain Bonifacius, the other by Dioscurus, both bishops. Both employed large sums of money in securing new partisans, and hesitated not to melt down, sell, or otherwise appropriate, the silver ornaments in the churches of their respective dioceses, so they might be well rewarded. For twenty-eight days, the victory remained uncertain; then Boniface succeeded in removing Dioscurus, and thus destroyed the central point of the opposition, and found himself sole master of the field. He employed his triumph in banning his murdered rival to the lowest depths of hell, causing the bull for that effect to be affixed to every church door. On his death, the ill-starred Dioscurus came again into favour, for the next pontiff, Agapet I., declared the anathema against him had proceeded from personal rancour, pronounced his absolution, and caused Boniface's bull of excommunication to be publicly burned in St. Peter's Church.

Scenes of still worse violence followed the decease of Paul I. (767). Scarcely had Duke Toto of Negi, the head of a powerful patrician family of Rome, learned that the holy father was at the point of death, than arming his friends and retainers, he took forcible possession of St. Peter's, and, at the moment Paul breathed his last, caused his own brother Constantine to be proclaimed bishop. The manœuvre succeeded perfectly; and Constantine, thus made successor of St. Peter, mounted the papal throne. Many of the Roman nobles and a great part of the higher clergy were but ill-pleased with such a nomination, and applied to the Longobard king, then at Pavia, for help to get rid

of the usurper. The king received the application favourably, and furnished a considerable body of troops, which at once joined the malcontents. The allies entered Rome, and called the population to arms; but Duke Toto was fully prepared, and offered such determined resistance that the Longobards soon took flight. Toto gave chase, but was stabbed in the back by two of his Roman foes, and expired where he fell. Then followed a period of fearful anarchy, when no man knew in whom to recognise the chief authority. This political disorder was employed by a monk of the St. Vitus' monastery, who enjoyed great influence over the lower classes, to get a certain member of his own fraternity, named Philip, renowned for peculiar sanctity, suddenly made pope, and through whom he might hope to govern. This monk, therefore, sallied into the streets one day, shouting, "Viva il Papa Filippo; Saint Peter himself hath chosen him!" and thousands of the mob at once re-echoed the cry. Philip, who knew nothing of the scheme in progress, hesitated for some time to accept the offered dignity; but the people finally carried him forcibly away on their shoulders to St. Peter's, and did not leave him until he had been anointed bishop. The new pope submitted to his destiny with a good grace, bestowed the pontifical benediction on the assembled multitude, and invited all the notabilities of the city, especially the higher dignitaries of the Church, to a magnificent banquet in the evening, to, in some degree, procure the necessary recognition of his rather irregular election; but few of the prelates or higher patricians appeared, however,—an evil augury for the monk Philip. He might too well

conclude he would not be left in peaceable possession of the function so unexpectedly imposed on him. As the adherents of the murdered Duke of Negi were morally incapable, after the death of their leader, to avail themselves of the victory they had obtained over the Longobards, the Roman nobles who had sent for the latter succeeded in inspiring their allies with fresh courage, and, before morning, even brought them back into the city. They then seized the castle of St. Angelo and the monk Philip, who, indeed, offered no resistance, suppressing at the same time, a revolt attempted too late by Constantine, the brother of the murdered Duke Toto. A new papal election was necessarily appointed, and naturally no name could issue from the urn but that of the candidate long designated by the victorious faction : —Stephanus III. The new pope was not content, however, with the quiet enjoyment of this victory over his two rivals until he had wreaked his revenge for their having dared to enter the lists against him. Philip atoned for the brief glory of a twenty-four hours pontificate by a cruel beating with rods, and life-long imprisonment, with no food but bread and water. The monk with whom his election had originated was still more mercilessly treated. By command of Pope Stephanus, the wretched man's tongue was torn out, and he was thrown, bound hand and foot, into a drain, and there left to bleed to death. Constantine was a yet greater sufferer ; after his eyes had been scooped out, he was placed on horseback, with his face to the animal's tail, and so paraded through the streets of Rome, until a good Samaritan mercifully ended his pain by a well-directed sword-

thrust; he had already grown delirious from agony and loss of blood. Constantine's adherents were exposed to no less barbarity; all whom the victor secured were given over to frightful tortures, and finally put to death.

The contest on the election of Benedict III. (855) with the rival candidate, Anastasius, was not marked by such gross cruelties, but no trace of the working of the Holy Spirit is to be traced in its incidents. So soon, indeed, as Benedict III. had been chosen by the then dominant party at Rome, an intimation of his elevation was despatched to the Emperor Lothair, then in Germany, in order to obtain the customary imperial ratification. Lothair appointed two commissioners to investigate the affair, and they at once set out with a train of well-armed followers. On approaching the city, the commissioners were met by the priest Anastasius, a member of a very wealthy and ancient Roman patrician family; he had intrigued for the tiara during the pontificate of Leo IV., and now, partly by bribes, partly by flattery, induced the German plenipotentiaries to promise they would not recognise the validity of the new pope's election. Anastasius then marched with a body of armed followers to the Lateran, seized the person of his rival, tore from him the papal insignia, and, after cruel maltreatment, cast him finally into a prison, and caused himself to be proclaimed pope. His pontificate was of very brief duration, for scarcely had the imperial commissioners left again on their homeward journey, than the party of the captive Benedict, numerically much stronger than that of Anastasius, raised the standard of

revolt, drove the latter beyond the gates, and reinstated his late prisoner on the throne.

The popes of those days were, indeed, not elected, but raised (with or without violence) to the episcopal seat ; the Divine influence had assuredly no part in the arrangement. This is still more strikingly exemplified in the ensuing period, when church government fell into female hands ; a period the reader will find sketched in another part of this work, and when the counts of Tusculum made, in fact, the tiara hereditary in their family for upwards of one hundred and fifty years. It were mere madness to profess that the least spark of religion, the least idea of any Christian aim, had aught to do with their bestowal of the apostolic throne. The popes of that age were but the tools of the governing faction in Rome ; those who, from time to time, owed their elevation to the Byzantine emperors, the great opponents of the Tusculum and Italian factions, owed it to quite temporal and human interests ; and during the ensuing three hundred years we shall find no other influence in the choice of St. Peter's successor ;* the triumph of a political party was the sole object sought, whether that

* Perhaps we may here not inappropriately remind the reader of an episode in which Gregory V., the imperialist pope, bore chief part. His rival, John XVII., nominated by the Tusculum party, had fallen into his hands on the reconquest of Rome, anno 998, by the Emperor Otho III., and Gregory immediately ordered his eyes and tongue to be torn out, his nose and ears cut off, and, when thus mutilated, to be placed backwards on an ass, with the animal's tail in his hands, and so led through the city, before being thrust into a dungeon and left to die of want. So acted the pontiff of imperial choice ; but his brutality need not excite our wonder, for those raised by Italian influence exhibited no less barbarity to the rivals who fell into their power.

party were Italian, German, French, or Spanish. What other objects than those of worldly ambition lay in the long wars of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, when opposing popes reciprocally cursed and excommunicated each other? Indeed, it would require an impossible simplicity to believe such wars waged in the service of Heaven or religion.

A few examples will best illustrate this. The Emperor Henry V. appointed Pope Clement III. in opposition to the all-engrossing Gregory VII., and for many years the two popes held possession of St. Peter's chair by turns; at length, on the death of Gregory, Clement III. obtained possession of the Vatican and St. Peter's, and hoped thenceforth to be left in undisturbed possession. But he was greatly self-deceived, for the cardinals of the Italian faction, though unable to assemble in Rome, chose a successor to Gregory VII., anno 1086, in the person of Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino, who took the name of Victor III., and called on his faithful friends, the Normans of southern Italy, to expel his rival from Rome. The expedition failed, and Desiderius returned in a week to his monastery once more. Yet very shortly afterwards the too-famous Countess Matilda of Tuscany advanced against Rome with a considerable army, forced Clement III. to flight, and re-established Victor in his stead. Scarcely, however, had her troops withdrawn, than the Clementinists made themselves master of St. Peter's, and it was Victor's turn to quit the field. Thus for several years the government was alternately seized by one pope or the other, and the disorder resulting only closed with their lives. The question, which of the

two was the one sole legitimate pope, was still left for the church to solve. Each had denounced the other as a "ravening wolf," a "forerunner of antichrist," &c., &c. Anathema and ban had been mutually exchanged; but which anathema was the valid one; which of the two pontiffs personified church Infallibility? The same question presented itself on the death of Clement III., when his party elected a successor in Sylvester VI., whilst that represented by the Roman aristocracy placed Paschalis II. (1099) on the papal throne. Both rivals banned and anathematised each other to their heart's content, but without showing which of the two, however, was "Infallible." The Catholic world declares for Paschalis, and, possibly, with justice, for he certainly outlived Sylvester, and even enjoyed the satisfaction of disinterring the corpse of his rival, and throwing it into the Tiber.

On the death of Paschalis II., the same scandals were renewed. The Frangipani and Caetani, both powerful patrician families, fell into fierce strife on their respective claims to the appointment of a new pontiff. The majority of the cardinals were of the Caetano faction, and elected a pope who took the title of Gelasius II.; but whilst they were still in conclave, Cencio, the chief of the Frangipani, broke into their midst, seized the new-made Holiness by the girdle, beat him until he was bathed in blood, and then had him dragged away to a dungeon. The assembled cardinals fared no better: they were all brutally maltreated, and left for dead on the floor of the hall. Then Cencio's party (the so-called "German faction,") appointed one of their body to the

throne thus vacated, and the new pontiff assumed the name of Gregory VIII. But he was not left a moment's peace for the enjoyment of his honours ; the followers of Gelasius excited an insurrection, brought forth their pope from his place of confinement, and drove Gregory VIII. from out the sacred city. The fugitive pontiff appealed to the great Emperor Henry V., who responded by marching into Italy at the head of an army, and forced Gelasius to take refuge in France, the final resource of nearly every distressed pope. But scarcely had the emperor recrossed the Alps, than Gelasius returned again, and even contrived to introduce himself into Rome, to learn what were the probabilities for his recovery of the pontifical honours. He remained for some time in concealment, but was finally persuaded to show himself publicly to the people. One morning, therefore, he entered the church of St. Lorenzo, in full pontificals, and commenced the celebration of High Mass. Within a few instants, news of the fact were carried to Gregory VIII., who at once hurried, at the head of a number of his followers, to the spot. There a struggle between the rival parties ensued, which was prolonged into the night, and only ended by the flight of Gelasius. But whether the victorious or the vanquished pope was the one true Infallibility, who shall say?

The cardinals who had accompanied the Italian pope to France, elected on his death (1119) Archbishop Guido of Vienne as his successor, under the name of Calixtus II.; and by great personal tact and Norman aid he was enabled to enter Rome in triumph (anno 1120). Calix-

tus secured the person of the rival pope, but the treatment he accorded him had little generosity in it. The unfortunate man was dressed in derision in a fresh-flayed sheep skin,—the dripping blood mocked the forfeited “purple,”—then set face backward on a mangy camel, and so led, to the sound of discordant trumpets, through the streets of Rome, and finally relegated on bread and water to life-long imprisonment in a monastery.

Some years later (1130) a disputed papal election again occurred: the Frangipani with the Corsi appointed Pope Innocent II.; the opposing faction chose Cardinal Pietro Leo, a scion of the wealthy house of Leoni, of Jewish origin, he assuming the name of Anaclet II. On the side of the latter was ranged the majority of the cardinals and King Roger of Naples, the German emperor Lothair supporting Innocent. Whilst the kaiser remained in Italy the Frangipani pope ruled supreme, denouncing at his ease his rival, Anaclet, as “a son of hell, who dared contest the kingdom of heaven with him (Christ’s vicegerent).” Scarcely had the emperor turned his back on the eternal city than the “reconciled” offspring of Israel appeared with a Norman army before the gates, and Innocent was obliged to fly into France. He there remained until Anaclet’s death, in 1138; then followed a revolution in his favour, and by the liberal expenditure of vast treasure he secured the adhesion of the chief partisans of his late rival, and their renunciation of the new pope they had appointed on Anaclet’s death. Innocent II. was thenceforth left uncontested possessor of the tiara, and the undoubted re-

presentative of Infallibility, though Anaclet might as justly have claimed it ; for, had he not held the chair of St. Peter from the year 1130 to 1138 ?

The election of Alexander III. in 1159 gave rise to very scandalous proceedings. The cardinals were so divided in opinion, that at the last moment of the election they split into new factions ; one giving its suffrages to Alexander, the other to Victor III. The rival candidates, animated with even fiercer jealousy than their supporters, rushed at each other in their fury, when Victor snatched the purple mantle just placed on the shoulders of Alexander and threw it over his own. Alexander, in return, dashed his antagonist to the ground, and, assisted by some of the cardinals, dragged the mantle again from his grasp. The partisans of Victor forced their way at this moment into the church, where the conclave was assembled, and so alarmed the opposite party by their wild threats and curses, that Alexander, in alarm, was fain to take refuge in a neighbouring tower, where, however, he at once found himself besieged by the Victorians. His own supporters rose in their turn, and for two days the struggle was carried on in Rome with fire and sword. Finally, both popes quitted the city, and Alexander was ordained to "Infallibility" in the monastery at Nympha and Alexander in Forsa Abbey. Scarce was this done, than commenced the war of ban and excommunication. Victor denounced Alexander as the "offspring of Belial, the spawn of hell;" Alexander proclaimed Victor "a forerunner of antichrist." All Christendom was soon divided between the opposing camps : the one party recognising no higher manifestation of divinity than that embodied

in Alexander ; the other, beholding in Victor their vice-God. At length, in the year 1164, Victor died ; but the schism between the two parties was not, therefore, healed,—a successor was immediately chosen in his stead, under the title of Paschalis III. Once more anathema and ban were launched forth, and the Christian world (France and Germany especially) well nigh plunged in universal war to decide to which of the two pretenders the real infallibility appertained. However, on the death of Paschalis, an amicable arrangement was effected, and in 1178 Alexander made a triumphal entry into Rome. He remained there as sole head of the church until his death, in 1181 ; but it might be questioned if he was therefore more “ Infallible ” than either of his colleagues, Paschalis and Victor.

Such contests on papal legitimacy were of very frequent recurrence : but we need not weary the reader's patience with further details. We shall better conclude the present chapter with the curious enough story of a papal election, which, commencing in the veriest farce, unhappily closed but too tragically. When, in 1292, Nicholas IV. died, for the two succeeding years the cardinals could not determine on a successor to the tiara. Each wished to secure it for himself ; and so intense were their mutual jealousies, that none would vote in favour of a colleague. The Romans at length growing weary of the scandal, threatened to abolish the Temporal power altogether, unless a new “ Infallibility ” were at once provided for its administration. Guido Montefeltro, the redoubtable Podestá of Pisa, had already seized a great part of the Romagna, and the loss of the

whole patrimonium Petri seemed imminent. Under these circumstances, the cardinals, after deliberating from the 4th of April, 1292, till the 5th of July, 1294, a period of twenty-six months, at length resolved on a candidate. As each one could not be simultaneously pope, they chose Pietro di Murrhone for the dignity, an old monk, who, as a "forest brother," lived in solitude in a retired spot some distance from Rome. It was only with great difficulty that Peter finally consented to the honours thrust on him; and as Pope Cœlestin V., never grew reconciled to his change of life. It was all too worldly, too redolent of courtly vanities, the circle in which he found himself placed thus suddenly. He felt strangely out of place amid all this riot and revelry. He commanded his cardinals to lead henceforth modest and retired lives, renounce their sumptuous households, sell their costly steeds, dismiss their great trains of servants, and send their mistresses into nunneries: in short, live decorously, simply, frugally, as the apostles of Jesus had lived.

He at once set the example; instead of a stud supplied with the finest horses, he kept but an humble ass, in imitation of Christ, who had entered Jerusalem upon an ass. In short, he did things such as had been unknown in Rome for centuries, and a deadly terror fell on the cardinals at these monstrous innovations. But when Cœlestin, to crown his proceedings, drew up certain severe regulations* for the conduct of future papal

* Gregory X., at a synod held at Lyons, in 1274, had drawn up the following regulations, so that the election of all future popes should be conducted in a more decorous and honourable manner:—"At the death

elections, they, like Lot's wife, were nigh to be petrified from the mere horror.

Only Cardinal Cajetan, a keen-witted, astute Spaniard, maintained his equanimity under the threatening aspects of the future, he even determined to employ the "absurdity of the pope" to his own advantage. Privately questioning his colleagues if they would give him their votes on condition he induced Cœlestin to resign, on receiving unnamously the desired assurance, he secretly bored a hole through the wall of the pope's sleeping chamber, applied a speaking trumpet to it at midnight, and shouted: "Cœlestin, Cœlestin, lay down thy office, it is too great a burden for thee." This proceeding he repeated on several successive nights;

of a pope, all the cardinals (so he decreed) shall be locked into a hall (the conclave), and this hall shall be so arranged, that as many cells open from it as there are cardinals present, the cells having no other outlet than that from the said hall. The cardinals to be permitted one attendant each, but not more than one, and are in no instance authorised to leave the conclave until the papal election is finally settled; for which, moreover, a majority of two-thirds shall be required. If, after three days, no determination has been arrived at, each cardinal, during the ensuing fortnight, to receive but one *couvert*, and one bottle of wine, per diem; if this further interval passes without the desired result, the princes of the church to be put upon an allowance of bread and water, and this dietary continued until a pope has been chosen." Thus decreed Gregory X., who seems to have had less reliance in any inspiration of the Holy Ghost in the matter, than on the influence of prison diet. But the cardinals would not submit to such a severe ordinance, and the next pontiff, John XXI., was compelled to modify, or, rather, rescind it. So much the more disagreeably affected must their Eminences have felt when Cœlestin proposed to revive the Gregorian decree; even increasing its rigour, in several points, to expedite a decision. If such a scheme had been carried into effect, all chance of "canvassing and intriguing," of "bargaining and chaffering" for votes, would have been at an end.

and the pope, who was as superstitious as he was simple-hearted, naturally believed the words were uttered by a voice from heaven. He seriously reflected on the resignation of his dignity ; which, indeed, had been nothing but a sore burden to him, and the cardinals were all ready to encourage this resolve, though up to that time a papal abdication was wholly unprecedented. The solemn act was at length performed on the 13th of December, 1294. Cœlestin, surrounded by the lord cardinals, divested himself of all the papal insignia, put on his old serge gown, and departed full of joy to his former hermitage—the first and only pope that ever willingly renounced his dignities.

Cardinal Cajetan failed not to remind his brethren of their promise, and he was actually elected to the apostolic throne, December 24th, 1294, though not without considerable opposition. But no sooner was his ambition satisfied, than he became possessed by the dread of Cœlestin's reappearance to claim the tiara, his renunciation of which was considered by many as invalid. The unsuspecting hermit was therefore seized, but contrived to get away from his captors, and made for the coast, hoping thus to reach Dalmatia by sea ; he was, however, re-taken, and conveyed by command of Cardinal Cajetan, now Boniface VIII., to a secure place of imprisonment at Anagni. In vain the poor old man begged permission to return to his hermitage, in vain he proffered the most solemn oaths he would, and could never for an instant dream again of the papal dignities. Boniface refused all credence, believed such assertions pure hypocrisy, and to get rid of a possible rival, had

him transferred from Anagni to a miserable dungeon in the castle of Fumone (May the 19th, 1296) ; where, after suffering the deprivation of the barest necessities of life, he at length died of a typhoid fever, produced by want of food.* His name was subsequently placed in the Roman calendar, in recognition of his sufferings, and good Catholics still keep the day of his death in pious remembrance.

* Cœlestin, or rather Pietro di Murrhone, was the founder of an anchorite fraternity, the Cœlestins, a branch of the Benedictine order. They wear white gowns, with black hoods, and lead a contemplative life. Many were professed hermits.

CHAPTER II.

PERIOD OF THE GREAT SCHISM.

WE have already seen that the year 1377 brought back Pope Gregory XI. from Avignon to Rome, and made the chief city of Italy again the papal residence. At Avignon the popes had sunk into the mere vassals of French royalty, and during the whole period of the so-called "captivity," none but Frenchmen had successively occupied the apostolic chair. It was a crying necessity that such a state of things should be changed, if the pope were not to become the mere tool of France; and therefore Gregory, though also a Frenchman by birth, bethought him of returning to Rome, then almost entirely emancipated from papal rule. "Long enough," says a famous ecclesiastical historian, "long enough had the papacy been in the leading strings of French policy, to destroy all belief in its divine character; it was now to recover once more, at least, the semblance of inspiration from the Holy Ghost in the elections of the popes!"

Gregory survived his return but one year. The whole city on his decease became the scene of the greatest excitement; the chief nobles, and the more influential of

the citizens, were alike convinced, that to keep the seat of government in Rome, it would be necessary in future to elect a Roman, or at least an Italian, to the apostolic throne. When this decision was communicated to the cardinals, they replied "they knew not what name the Holy Ghost might suggest to them in the approaching election;" but on immediately receiving the very significant rejoinder: "The Holy Ghost would on this occasion have no French pope," the lord cardinals saw plainly the necessity to which they must perforce submit.

On the 7th of April, 1378, sixteen princes of the churches shut themselves up in conclave; of this number eleven were of French (during the sojourn of the popes at Avignon, French cardinals had always formed two-thirds of the whole college), one Spanish, and four of Italian birth. Though the head men of the people had promised them full personal security, they might well take warning by the cry of "an Italian or death," shouted by a thousand voices on their way to the hall. The tumult in the city grew still more threatening, when the next day brought no decision. The alarm bells pealed from the church towers, the crowd gathered in a dense mass round the palace where the conclave sat, crying loudly, "a Roman, or at least an Italian;" finally bursting the doors of the sacred council chamber open, and threatening the princes of the church with instant death unless they came to a prompt decision. In vain the plebeian and patrician gonfalonieri endeavoured to restore order; their followers heeded no expostulations, and the cardinals were so terrified, that not only did they at once waive their personal differences, but really

designated an Italian, the archbishop of Bari, Bartolomeo Trignano. The new pope assumed the tiara as Urban VI., and the fact of his election produced a very frenzy of rejoicing in Rome: if not a Roman, he was yet an Italian.

Letters announcing the satisfactory result were despatched throughout Christendom, and from nowhere came the faintest protest against the election; even the cardinals who had remained in Avignon after the departure of Pope Gregory made no sign of dissatisfaction; they also formally recognised the new pontiff, and gracefully accepted various rich benefices at his hands. Within a short time, however, the French cardinals, still a large majority of the college, demanded Urban should remove his court to Avignon, where alone they considered life could be really enjoyed. Urban rejected the proposal, and sternly reproved those who tendered it for their attachment to worldly pleasures. Feeling he was indebted for his position not to them but to the people of Rome, he treated the cardinals with so much hauteur, they soon found a longer residence in the Christian capital unendurable. A mutual understanding was soon arrived at by the malcontents, and, under pretext of avoiding the excessive heat by a brief visit to the country, they, one after the other, quitted Rome in the beginning of May, 1578, and proceeded at once to an appointed rendezvous at Agnano, in the kingdom of Naples. They were there secure; the queen-regnant, Johanna, had been threatened with deposition by Urban soon after his elevation, unless she consented to a marriage with his illegitimate son Pignano; she was, there-

fore, the deadly foe of the "Italian" pope. One of the earliest acts of the cardinals assembled at Agnano was to formally demand Urban's resignation; he refused, and they then published a manifesto setting forth the circumstances of his election, to the great amusement of the world. They, at the same time, opened a correspondence with the five cardinals who had remained in Rome, and made them such flattering promises, that they, too, left, and hastened to Agnano. The pope now stood alone, but not an iota did this discourage him; he had, indeed, at once declared the sixteen recalcitrant cardinals deposed, and nominated a new sacred college, all the members of which were Romans. This was pouring oil upon the flames, and the conclave at Agnano replied to the Bull of deposition by proceeding to a new papal election, September 20, 1378, when Cardinal Robert of Geneva received the unanimous suffrages of his brethren. Once more there were two popes, both claiming to be sole legitimate pontiff, and sole embodiment of infallibility, though only one of the two could actually be Heaven's vicegerent. From this moment we may date the great schism, which was only closed after an existence of one-and-fifty years.

It was a strangely mad period that then followed, a period during which the whole Christian world divided into two great factions, the Clementine and Urbanite, mutually possessed with a hate, merciless, inextinguishable; a period when rival popes cursed and banned each other, each pursuing each with such fierce rancour, that those sacred shepherds of souls might with their flocks have been thought changed into ravening beasts

of prey by some terrible spell of sorcery. Clement's case seemed at first well nigh hopeless, for Urban had been formally recognised by all the princes of Christendom. Wenzel, the Emperor King of Germany, and Louis the Great of Hungary positively forbade his assumption of the papal insignia, but Johanna, Queen of Naples, from personal enmity to Urban, naturally espoused the cause of his opponent, and France could not hold back, for was it not in the interest of that kingdom to have a pope with French sympathies? Moreover, it might well be questioned if right was on Urban's side, for the Holy Ghost had assuredly taken no part in his election. In short, the schism soon obtained a very formidable character; France, Naples, Castile, Arragon, Navarre, and Scotland recognised Clement, whilst Germany, Upper Italy, Hungary, Poland, and Denmark took part with Urban. Both parties declared their chosen pope the only true one; and, for the proof of their argument, were ever ready with the logic of hard blows for every opponent. Clement, by the aid of Queen Johanna, had every suspected Urbanite priest in the kingdom of Naples burnt or hung; nor was Urban more magnanimous. Immediately on learning the election of his rival, he caused all "French sympathisers" in Rome,—men, women, and children, to be either drowned, hanged, or given to the flames. But the strife raged fiercest when an episcopal see fell vacant, on which Urbanites and Clementines considered they had a like claim. Both Infallibilities appointed their respective nominees, and there ensued not only the most sanguinary conflicts between the rival bishops and their partisans, but scenes

more scandalous than any the Christian world had witnessed. All social order was overthrown, and no man knew in his conscience on which side was right and truth, or which wrong and falsehood. Truth itself became a lie, perjury was travestied as truth. Did not Urban VI. excommunicate King Juan of Castile, and absolve his subjects from their allegiance, when the king espoused the cause of the French pope? He called on the people to rebel, under threat of excommunication; whilst Clement solemnly gave his benediction to the sovereign for his changed views, and assured him of the Eternal salvation secured by the blessed act.

As with King Juan so it was with all other Christian potentates: those who recognised one pope were denounced by the other as "children of perdition;" as "pestilent heretics; yea, as the most worthless and loathsome of men;" and throughout the world there was no Christian living who had not been put under eternal anathema either in the interests of one or the other Infallibility; whilst on passing from one camp to the other the convert was welcomed by his new colleagues as a man "peculiarly blessed by the Lord, a lost sheep brought into the fold, over whom the angels of heaven rejoiced; yea, a pattern unto all Christians." Verily, the time was a strange one, when men could thus bridge the space between Heaven and Hell with a single step.

Men hoped that with the death of one or other of the rival chiefs an end might be put to the church schism; but this was not to be. When Urban VI. died, on the 18th of October, 1389, amid general contempt and exe-

cration,* the cardinals in Rome elected, in November of the same year, their colleague Peter de Tomacelli, who ascended the contested throne as Boniface IX. But Charles VI. of France and the rival pope, Clement VII., were greatly interested in preventing this consummation; the schism might, at length, come to an end. On the other hand, the Italian party among the clergy feared that should Clement VII. be generally recognised, he would transfer his seat to Avignon, and they therefore resolved to maintain the schism. A pope such as this Boniface IX. the Christian world had never seen; under his auspices the apostolic court became a veritable "exchange and temple of usury." "No sin," writes a contemporary historian, "was so heavy but that it could find absolution on sufficient payment; no priest so infamous but that he could secure a bishopric if he would but give hard coin for it." The pope sold every office in his gift, and was still better pleased when he could sell them twice over. Whilst celebrating high mass he asked his secretary, that official chancing to enter, if he had procured more money; and on an unsatisfactory reply, broke into fierce imprecations. It was a scandalous state of things; but the Romans had this satisfaction, that the court at Avignon was scarcely, if at all, better, though there only the protégés of the

* The popular feeling was not without good justification; few popes had been guilty of greater iniquities. Not only did he openly shield his nephew Butillus, sentenced to death for violating a nun, but caused, in his own presence, six cardinals, accused of treasonable correspondence with Clement, to be tortured to death; and a number of priests who had spoken of him at a private meeting in disrespect, he had sewed up in sacks, their heads alone left exposed, and so thrown into the sea.

French king necessarily received all the higher preferments.

On the 16th of September, 1394, died Clement VII., and again an opportunity was offered by the recognition of Boniface to heal the schism ; but the Avignon cardinals feeling no inclination for removal to Rome, at once assembled in conclave, and chose a new pope in the person of Peter de Luna, who assumed the tiara as Benedict XIII.; the reciprocal cursings recommenced, whilst every priest in Christendom devoutly espoused the cause of that pope from whom he might hope the better remuneration. The bitterness of the contest grew every day more intense, until all thinking men asked themselves if it would not, perhaps, be very possible to dispense altogether with a pope ; for the dual papacy, with its re-echoing anathemas, was the most cogent argument that the whole institution was founded on mere "Spiegel Fechterei" (sham and delusion).

The higher clergy took alarm at these indications of public opinion, and bethought themselves seriously of some means for putting an end to the strife. Though they took the peace of the church not very deeply to heart, they trembled lest, if the papacy fell, they might, too, share its ruin. The great hierarchs of Rome are so closely bound up with the papacy, that its overthrow would inevitably involve their own ruin. No marvel, then, that bishops, archbishops, and cardinals, felt at last that it behoved them to preserve the unity of the church at any sacrifice, and endeavoured by their ambassadors, sent alternately from one pope to the other, to induce their Holinesses to bend to the interests of

that unity. Complete failure, however, attended their efforts. The pope at Rome cast the messengers of peace into prison, when he spared them the gibbet; the pope at Avignon caused those accredited to his court to be thrown out of window. Nor were these proceedings illogical; each pope was, or held himself to be, sole true vicegerent of Heaven, and therefore religiously bound to maintain his sacred rights, though the whole world were rent asunder in the effort. The temporal sovereigns at length grew impatient at this state of things, Charles VI. of France especially, for Benedict XIII., whilst still a cardinal, had assured the French monarch he was not opposed to the reunion of the church, so Charles determined to use the strong hand against His Holiness, and sent Marshal Boucicault to Avignon at the head of an army to effectually remind the stiff-necked pontiff of his former declaration. The marshal seized the city, besieged the pope in his well-fortified castle, and finally obliged him to capitulate. Benedict then yielded, and promised to lay down his crown if his rival would "also abdicate." The condition did not appear unreasonable, and an embassy was forthwith despatched to Rome to obtain the requisite assurance from Boniface. He replied there was but one way to restore the unity of the church—"the abdication of the unrightful pope;" but as he, the Roman, was the true head of the church, the abdication must be from "Avignon." Benedict's ambassadors were greatly incensed at this answer, declared the claims of the pontiff they represented far more legitimate than those of the Italian, for he had neither gained his position by simony,

nor disgraced it by usuriousness; still they had no course left them than to shake the dust from their feet and depart, without any hope of effecting a mutual understanding between the opposing factions.

Nor did even the decease of Boniface, which followed the 29th September, 1404, bring any better promise of the wished-for consummation. The Roman conclave hastened to appoint Cardinal Guzman to the apostolic chair; and he, as Innocent VII., at once broke off all negotiations with the French king, and turned a deaf ear to every proposal for restoring harmony to the Church (Innocent VII. died within eighteen months); but Cardinal Corrario, who assumed the tiara as Gregory XII., adopted his policy, and "whole volumes might be filled if all the tricks and artifices, all the falsehoods and meanesses, were recounted by which the new pope endeavoured to prevent reunion of the Church and befool the world."* But the world had wearied of these iniquities; and from every side arose the same demand,—Let the popes make peace with each other, or resign. The princes of Europe finally brought things so far that an interview was arranged between the rival popes, attended by their respective colleges of cardinals, at the town of Saona, whose neutrality had been guaranteed by the Genoese. Both Gregory and Benedict took solemn oath to procure the unification of the Church at the proposed meeting. Benedict XIII. actually went with his cardinals, though only when well assured his rival would not appear. Gregory XII. ex-

* So writes the devoted Romanist, Theodore of Niem, in his celebrated work, "*Die Schismate Ecclesiæ*."

hibited singular tardiness,—occupied full six months in reaching Lucca, where he again made a long delay. Indeed, he had resolved the meeting should never take place, and only waited for a plausible excuse for evading it altogether. On one occasion he could not enter Saona, as his rival had planned to assassinate him there; on another, he fell into conflict with his cardinals, accusing them of an intention to betray him. The greater number growing indignant at the charge left him, proceeded to Pisa (May 1408), and summoned then what they were pleased to call an Œcumenical Council. The anarchy grew wilder than before; Gregory excommunicated his cardinals; they rejoined by denouncing him as a “heretic and schismatic;” a “forerunner of Antichrist.” All Italy was rent asunder by the two factions, though this profited nothing to the Avignon pope,—indeed he suffered more than Gregory from the conflict. After delaying some length of time at Saona, he returned to Avignon with his cardinals, and triumphantly declared to the world “that it must now be evident unto all men that his opponent, who had not dared keep his promise at Saona, was assuredly an usurper, whilst the papal dignity would justly appertain to him,—Benedict,—alone.

The King of France, to whom Benedict had vowed never again to use such language, was greatly incensed thereat, and directed Marshal Boucicault to seize the Holy Father once more; nothing therefore remained for the latter but speedy flight. He made his way into Aragon, and from thence fulminated an interdict against

the monarch and people of France. It was dated from Perpignan, March, 1409, but assuredly wrought not the effect intended. The majority of the French people laughed at, and the king ordered the document to be burnt publicly in the streets of Paris.* Fresh misfortunes befell Benedict immediately after this last cruel disappointment; the French cardinals, at the command of Charles VI., abandoned him, and returned to France, whilst of all the countries that had once acknowledged his supremacy, none now remained faithful but Castile, and Arragon and Navarre.

But if Benedict had to buffet desperately with the waves that threatened every movement to engulf him, Gregory's struggle was a still harder one. When forsaken by his cardinals, or the majority of the college, the Romans revolted against him, and he took flight to Venice, hoping to defy his enemies from thence with ban and anathema. But the Venetians at once refused to recognise his pretensions, and he was obliged to escape to his only remaining ally, King Ladislas of Naples, and but narrowly avoided capture by the Patriarch of Aquilea. Benedict XIII. lost more ground by quarrelling with his cardinals than Gregory XII. in breaking with the French monarch. Still, despite these reverses, each continued to entitle himself, in all briefs and bulls,

* The legates charged with publishing the papal bull of anathema were thrown into prison by Charles, and there kept until their death. During the burning of the document, they stood in a pillory as spectators of the scene, dressed in penitential sackcloth, each with a placard hanging round his neck, declaring in great letters, "their master a villainous deceiver."

the one only true pope, and denounced his rival as the "offscouring of hell."

But one way seemed to offer any escape from this anarchy. Since neither of the two popes would abdicate, then both must be deposed, and a new, true pope elected in their stead. King Charles VI. issued a decree forbidding any of his subjects, under pain of his high displeasure, from yielding obedience to either Benedict or Gregory, whilst he invited the cardinals to summon an Œcumenical Council for the final settlement of the papal question. The French cardinals who had abandoned Benedict XIII., and the Italian whom Gregory XII. had offended, actually assembled at Livorno in 1408, but it was long ere they consented to meet the king's demand. They had, from of old, exercised the right of appointing each new pope whenever a vacancy occurred, and were they now to resign this prerogative to a Council? The requisition was a very hard one; but as no other means of allaying the strife offered, they finally consented, and summoned an Œcumenical Synod in due form, to meet at Pisa in the following year, 1409. The greater number of the temporal princes, and a majority of the clergy throughout France, Germany, and Italy (Naples excepted), were fully in favour of this policy.

The council was thus largely attended, and the popes duly summoned to appear before it, and set forth their claims to the papal throne. But both alike not only refused obedience, but denounced the citation as unjust and illegal, and even proceeded to call separate councils

of their own; Gregory XII. to hold his at Ravenna, Benedict XIII. another at Perpignan.*

These rival councils did but aggravate the universal discord, and the assembled metropolitans, bishops, and learned doctors of theology at Pisa, felt there was no course practicable but to declare Gregory and Benedict perjured heretics and schismatics, and solemnly depose both. Judgment to this effect was passed on the 5th of June, 1409, and at the same time a command laid on all Christians to give no aid or countenance to either of the deposed pontiffs, under pain of eternal damnation. The cardinals then proceeded to a new election, and Cardinal Petrus of Candia, who adopted the name of Alexander V., and received the majority of their votes.

The council, with the greater part of Christendom, hoped an end was at length made of the schism; but the hope unhappily proved delusory; not only did Gregory and Benedict refuse to abdicate, both (the one at Naples, the other in Spain) persisted in all their former claims and assumptions. Thus, by Alexander's election there were three popes created instead of two; and not three popes merely, but three antagonistic churches; who, though quite undistinguished by doctrines or ob-

* The council summoned by Gregory never actually met, though that called by Benedict at Perpignan did so in all solemnity. The latter was attended not only by the prelates of Castile and Arragon, but by many from Navarre, Savoy, and certain provinces of France. Angry discussions soon ensued among their graces, especially with those from the two latter countries, who demanded that Benedict should submit to the Œcumenical Synod at Pisa, and on his refusal immediately withdrew, leaving His Holiness and the Spanish bishops to deliberate alone.

servances, yet mutually anathematised each other to the lowest depths of hell. The confusion, instead of being ameliorated, grew worse than before; there was, too, no hope either of the three would resign, whilst at the death of one of the number a successor would be immediately appointed, and the papal triad again restored. The reality of this danger was, indeed, exemplified at the death of Alexander, in 1410. Scarcely had the pope breathed his last, than the cardinals met in conclave, and appointed as his successor, Balthazar Cossa, (who assumed the tiara as John XXIII., so that the sacred triumvirate was in no danger of surceasing. The excommunications hurled by each "Infallibility" against the other two, led to no result; when one had thought to have pronounced the most terrible anathema conceivable, the second invented a curse still more terrible, whilst the third would startle the world with one deadlier still. In short, there seemed no possibility of restoring the unity of the papacy again.

Balthazar Cossa, however, or rather, John XXIII. (we have already seen something of this monster in an earlier page) contrived such a possibility, however. At the commencement of his pontificate, he hurled his anathemas not only against the other two popes, but against all the countries that recognised them, and the princes whose protection they enjoyed; he laid an interdict on Ladislas of Naples, and enjoined all the bishops in his kingdom, to recite the curse on every Sunday and saint day, with burning torches and tolling bells. He even called on Christendom to join in a crusade against the offending monarch, promising all taking

part in the holy war, not only plenary absolution, but admission to heaven, without any delay in purgatory. Yet even these inducements proved of no effect. Ladislas remained in possession of his throne as before.

It then occurred to Balthazar Cossa to direct his attack from another quarter; a quarter, too, in which most men are fallible. He proposed, in the first place, to present his Majesty with 200,000 ducats—an enormous sum in those days; and secondly, invest him with the patronage of several very wealthy benefices, in consideration of Ladislas recognising him (John XXIII.) as pope, in place of Gregory XII. Such arguments could not be resisted by the monarch, who immediately became convinced that not Gregory, but John, was the true Pontifex Maximus; and therefore caused proclamation to be made throughout the kingdom, that under heavy penalties he alone should be so recognised; “for after careful investigation, the infallibility of the said pope, John XXIII., had been made clear beyond all doubt.” The people obeyed; they were well schooled to obedience, and, moreover, had no respect for the pope they were made to renounce, who thus at one blow lost his chief reliance in Italy. Indeed, Gregory, to avoid being seized by his late ally, and delivered over to Benedict, was now forced to seek safety in flight. He made his way in secret to his friend, Carlo Malatesta, at Rimini, and thence to Dalmatia, where he was beyond the reach of Pope John. But the latter had not less the satisfaction of seeing all Italy united under his crozier, and the potency of his infallibility rendered so much the greater.

John naturally attempted the same tactics with the sovereigns of Castile and Arragon, who were still attached to the cause of Pope Benedict XIII.; but, unlike King Ladislas, they proved obdurate: persisting in the demand for an Œcumenical Council, as the only practicable means for ending this insane schism. The other European kings and rulers adopted the like policy, Kaiser Sigismund, of Germany, the most emphatically; for, though the council of Pisa had had so unsatisfactory a result, yet no better alternative offered. At such a crisis, it would assuredly not be sufficient to merely declare the three existing popes deposed, and then elect a fourth; but before proceeding to a new election, it was requisite to compel their abdication, and carry out such thorough reforms in the church, that the like state of confusion would be impossible for the future. So thought princes and people; even a great part of the clergy joined in the cry for a reforming council. But John XXIII., in terror of the fate preparing for him, resisted the demand with his whole power and influence, and not until having quarrelled with king Ladislas,* the latter marched with an army against Rome, and obliged His Holiness to take refuge with the Emperor Sigismund, did he consent to the Œcumenical Council

* The good understanding between John XXIII. and the king of Naples had been of short duration; the pope failed in his promises, and Ladislas in his anger marched against Rome, resolved on seizing and hanging the offender without more ado. But John and his cardinals contrived to escape in time, though the royal vengeance was gratified by putting the whole garrison, and several bishops in St. Angelo, to the sword, and giving all the churches in the city over to the soldiers to plunder. Pope John had, indeed, good cause to tremble.

being summoned, which a year later (1414) sat at Constance.

Once more a General Synod of the church was assembled, which, claiming the right to sit in judgment on the Head of the Church, cited the three popes to appear before it. Neither Gregory nor Benedict appeared in person, though they sent ambassadors to represent their interests. John, however, anticipating thus to secure his own recognition and the defeat of his rivals, attended in all docility, but his hopes were soon all overthrown; for not only was it almost immediately resolved that the unity of the church would be best served by the abdication of all three popes, but further, essentially necessary for the restoration of the papacy to the respect of the world, that a man so wholly unworthy as this Balthazar Cossa should at once be removed from St. Peter's chair. A closer investigation of his life was commenced; and he, in terror of the result, and hoping to escape inevitable shame, suddenly declared his willingness to resign,—so soon as Gregory and Benedict did so too. He was not in earnest, however, in this proposal, as we see by the fact that leaving Constance on the 21st of March, 1416, in the disguise of a palfrenier, he hastened to place himself under the protection of Duke Frederick of Tyrol. He then wrote to the Emperor Sigismund, at the same time commanding all bishops and church dignitaries attached to his cause to quit the council and join him without delay. He placed his reliance on the division he thus hoped to excite among the reverend fathers, and so secure a chance of retaining his own dignity,—at the worst, resolving to go to

Avignon and thus preserve a part at least of the dominions which had once owned his temporal sceptre. Yet all was in vain : about a hundred cardinals and bishops* followed the fugitive pope ; but on finding the majority of their brethren did not allow his departure to affect their proceedings, and as the emperor had outlawed Duke Frederick of Tyrol, they might too well fear for their own safety and anticipate being seized and thrown into prison, they, therefore, resolved to secure their own peace by betraying John, and at once made their way back to Constance, where they were received with rejoicings, as over sinners brought to repentance. John found himself completely abandoned, but he still refused to obey the requisitions of the council in submitting himself into its hands. For in this case he must have witnessed his own shame ; the investigations into his past life were now to be mercilessly brought to light.

He gained no advantage, however, by resistance ; for the council not only sentenced him on the 29th of May, 1414, to deposition and imprisonment for life in a monastery, but the elector of Brandenburg, with whom he had sought refuge, by the emperor's command, seized and consigned him to durance as though he had been a vulgar malefactor.†

* So great was the assemblage, that the departure of a hundred prelates made no perceptible hiatus in it. There were present in all at the council 4000 of the lower clergy, 600 doctors of theology and abbots, 91 bishops, 20 archbishops, 7 patriarchs, 25 cardinals, 1 pope, 140 counts, 26 princes, and an emperor. Necessary recreations were not wanting for these reverend fathers and great lords : seven hundred dames, light o' love, were there, besides the established "female friends" and nieces of the sacerdotal households.

† Pope John XXIII.'s subsequent fate has been related, p. 327, vol. i.

“One” of the three popes was thus happily disposed of. It was now only necessary to deal as effectually with the two others; and negotiations were at once opened with their ambassadors. Malatesta, Gregory’s representative, proved the more tractable: his master had fled to Dalmatia, as we have seen, and could exercise his spiritual sway there over a very narrow territory. Such a pontificate, with its limited revenues, was indeed worth very little. Gregory had given his plenipotentiary no other instructions than “to arrange an abdication on the best terms circumstances allowed.” And this policy proved the wisest. The council presented the abdicating pope with a very considerable sum of money, invested him with the highly-lucrative office of papal legate to Ancona, and the chief seat in the College of Cardinals. Gregory had the good fortune to enjoy his new dignities for full two years,—until his death, in his eighty-ninth year. The “second” pope was now also provided for; and Benedict XIII. alone remained. But Benedict resisted with the courage of despair—turned a deaf ear to offers of the richest preferments the council would have pressed on him as the reward of submission. “His sacred functions admitted no abdication; and now his rivals were removed, to restore the unity of the church, nothing more was needed than the general recognition of him,—Benedict.”

By this answer he remained steadfast, despite every means employed by his adversaries; even threatening all those who longer denied his infallibility with the direst spiritual penalties as blasphemous heretics. Kaiser Sigismund then went in person to Spain, and invited

their majesties of Arragon, Castile, and Navarre, to visit Perpignan, where Benedict resided, and prevail on the latter, by gold and fair words, to withdraw further opposition to the restoration of the peace of the church. The three kings accepted the task, and expounded the emperor's views, in which they fully concurred; but Benedict refused all compromise more resolutely than ever. But on finding his own cause was hopeless, and that he even was in some danger of being made prisoner, he contrived to foment an insurrection among the inhabitants of Perpignan, and in the confusion resulting, made good his escape, with his four cardinals, to Pensacola, a strong castle built on a rock, on the Valencia coast. There, like an eagle in her eyrie, he remained unmolested until his death, in 1424, though abandoned by the king of Arragon, the last of his powerful supporters, and formally deposed by the Council of Constance on the 17th of June, 1417.

It was considered impolitic to employ active measures, as the castle held by the resolute old man must have cost much bloodshed to take. It was, moreover, evident his claims must end with his life; so he was allowed to fulminate ban and anathema at his pleasure. The world laughed at his impotent assumptions, when, with the few hundred inhabitants of Pensacola for his flock, and the four cardinals still faithful to his cause, he pretended to represent the universal apostolic church, and declared all the rest of Europe had fallen into heresy and schism. Benedict was unquestionably mad, and with madmen reasoning is unavailable. His death was, therefore, patiently awaited; but in defiance of men's expectations,

even his death did not heal the schism in the church. He had made his four cardinals take solemn oath, that on his decease they would elect one of their number to his throne: and this farce was actually performed. Three of the cardinals chose the fourth, *Ægidibus Munioz*, who assumed his new dignities as *Clement VIII.*; and thus the schism was maintained until 1429, when *Clement* sold his miniature pontificate to his rival at Rome for the bishopric of Majorca.*

The great schism was finally closed on the 11th of November, 1417, with the election of Cardinal Colonna (*Martin V.*),† and once more, instead of the two or three infallibilities, there was but one.

It might have been supposed that the College of Cardinals, warned by the danger of the late schism, would take every precaution to avoid their recurrence; but within a few years the same strange spectacle was again offered to the world. On the death of Pope *Martin V.*, February 27, 1431, Cardinal *Gabriel Gondelmerio*, thenceforth known as *Eugenius IV.*, was elected pope,

* He was in some sort forced to make the exchange, under immediate pressure of starvation. Two of the four cardinals, on *Benedict's* death, had appropriated for their own use all the money in the papal treasury, together with the gold and silver crucifixes, chalices, jewels, and valuable *Madonna* ornaments; and as the *Pensacola* apostolic throne had no private revenues, there remained at length no alternative for its occupant but to make his peace with the world.

† No papal ordination was ever of more imposing character than that of Pope *Martin V.* Immediately on his nomination a vast procession proceeded to *St. Peter's*, he accompanying it in a covered litter, borne by the emperor of Germany on the right hand, by the elector Palatine on the left. The procession was formed of princes, nobles, church dignitaries, and priests, numbering five thousand persons in all;—whilst the multitudes gathered to behold the spectacle passed all enumeration.

and made it his duty to immediately summon an Œcumenical Council. He had a sufficiently stringent reason for this proceeding, for, as the reader has already seen, the Hussite war was then at its fiercest height, and the crusaders sent against the heretics had just suffered shameful defeat. As the usual papal remedy, "fire and sword" had failed, it was necessary to have recourse to fraud, and bring back the schismatics to voluntary reconciliation by apparent concessions. This was one of the objects to be achieved by the Council, and it was fully achieved; the other was the reformation of the church itself, from its head down through all its subordinate members. The whole world, disgusted by the universal demoralisation of the ecclesiastical system, called loudly for this reform, and Eugenius, though sorely against his will, summoned the Council, in obedience to the demands of the German emperor, and various other potentates, and opened its proceedings through his legates at Bâle, July, 1431. But he had determined on the attitude he should assume towards it from the moment of the opening. He had resolved the whole ecclesiastical system, with its abuses and excrescences, should be left untouched, and, above all things, to yield no iota of his "apostolic prerogatives or revenues! The Sacred College and all the high dignitaries of the church were united in the same policy; the lower clergy, however, especially the doctors of theology at the various universities, and the learned members of the monastic orders, unanimously agreed with the whole secular world that the sacerdotal system was no longer endurable, that the church had drifted to the edge of an abyss, and

that from mere papacy, idolatry, and false doctrine, every vestige of Christianity had been well nigh eliminated from the whole fabric.

The pope, indeed, had no possibility to avoid calling the Council, demanded as it was alike by the priesthood, the laity, and still more by the Emperor Sigismund; and thus, after many delays, it was finally opened, as we have said, on the 23rd of June, 1431. But it was not largely attended; the higher prelates were generally absent, and the emperor could only induce even those of Germany to appear under heavy threats in event of contumacy; for it was known that a serious design was on foot to employ the council for the reformation of the church, a design utterly abhorrent and monstrous in the eyes of the pope and his chief hierarchs. They, therefore, studiously employed every means to lower the council in the estimation of the world. These means proved successful; and to deprive the Bâle reformers of the necessary moral influence, the pope directed his legate, Cardinal Julien, to dissolve the assembly, anno 1431, under the empty promise of calling another in seven years at Bologna, "because it had overstepped its powers, and sought only to encroach on the just prerogative of the apostolic throne." But the legate, for politic reasons, declined to carry out these instructions, considering it necessary, at least "in appearance," to satisfy the demands of the world for church rehabilitation. Pope Eugenius, however, would listen to no conciliatory advice, and, in 1432, published a Bull, formally dissolving the council of Bâle. He had doubted not the assembled priests and prelates would separate at his

word of command, and learnt, with horror, how much that belief had misled him. Kaiser Sigismund, who, with many other high potentates, had gone to Bâle, positively commanded the reverend fathers to pursue their deliberations, "whilst he induced the pope to withdraw the edict of dissolution." The Council continued its sittings, and, on February 14, 1432, formally voted itself "legitimately assembled," and its authority "supreme over that of the pope." Eugenius, on learning this, at once repeated his Bull of dismissal, and commanded all members of the Sacred College, and priesthood holding office in Rome, to leave Bâle without delay, under pain of "deprivation of their benefices." The latter argument was not without effect, and many prelates submitted to a command thus emphasised. The Kaiser Sigismund intervened a second time, and in somewhat drastic fashion. Then the pope, finding menaces of no avail, determined to make peace with the Council: failing to conquer by force, he might overreach it yet by cunning. He had good grounds for his enmity, the Council was seriously bent on removing ecclesiastical abuses, or, at least, some of the more flagrant; whilst certain of the liberal clergy even dared to charge the papacy with "a barren pride that trampled under foot all the rights of humanity." The resolutions actually recorded bore evidence of the same spirit, as the following examples from them show: "From henceforth all ecclesiastical appointments shall be made according to the canons of the church; all simony cease; from henceforth all priests, whether of the highest or the lowest rank, shall put away their concubines, and whoso, within two

months of the appearance of this decree, neglecteth its requisitions, shall be deprived of his functions, though he were the very bishop of Rome. Henceforth the ecclesiastical administration of each country shall cease to depend on papal caprice, and be regulated by annual national synods; henceforth the secular clergy shall be Christian and decorous in their habits and conversation; monks and nuns emulate apostolic poverty; henceforth the abuse of ban and anathema by the popes cease, and no country or city laid under the interdict except in cases of notorious heresy; henceforth all banquets, merrymakings, dances, markets, feasts of fools, &c., held until now in churches discontinued, that the worship of God may again be worthily celebrated.* From thenceforth the Roman Curia, *i. e.*, the popes, shall neither demand nor accept any fees for ecclesiastical offices, and thus the *Annatæ*, *Pallium* fees, Reservations, &c.,

* The disorders mixed up with religious worship at that time were so gross, that all the rites of the churches seemed in imminent danger of being finally lost in them. Indeed, divine worship could scarcely be called so with any propriety; it had become so mere a succession of ceremonies and festival processions, intended to dazzle and amuse men's eyes and senses. Some of these celebrations, such as the Feast of the "Ass," and the "Feast of Fools" especially, were not only remarkable for their splendour, but for their gross satire on the church. The "asses'" feast was celebrated twice a year: at Christmas, in honour of the ass on which Christ entered Jerusalem; at Midsummer, in honour of the one used by Mary in the flight into Egypt. On these occasions an ass taught to kneel was dressed in priestly vestments, and wearing stole and skull cap, was led to the altar; of course, the animal could neither speak nor sing, but this failing was supplied by a human coadjutor concealed behind; whilst at those parts of the service where Amen should be spoken by the priest, the ass was pricked until it gave voice audibly enough, and the pious congregation laughed immensely at the joke. Still more indecent was the "Feast of Fools," which, like the saturnalia of the ancients, was

&c., are herewith abolished. Henceforth, a pope hath to think not of the treasures of this world, but attach himself only to those of the world to come; and therefore, once each year, a cardinal shall read over to him

celebrated in December;* *i. e.*, from Christmas until the last Sunday after Epiphany. On these occasions, one of the lower clergy, renowned as a "jovial brother," dressed up as an abbot or bishop, or even as the pope; he was then conducted in vast procession, and amid the shouts and cheers of the assembled spectators, to the principal church, where, amid the most fantastic and ridiculous ceremonies, he received ordination. The pseudo bishop or pope, as the case might be, placed himself before the altar, and read mass in precisely the same manner as the dignitary he travestied. But whilst he was thus occupied, his masked attendants, who acted as choristers and sacristans, indulged in a thousand absurd tricks and pranks. Some danced round the altar singing licentious ballads; others employed it as a table at an hostelry, and producing sausages from their pockets, sat down to discuss them, or, having tapped a barrel of wine provided for the occasion, hopped-nobbed with each other, played cards and dice, and spiced the entertainment with the most blasphemous oaths their invention supplied; others, again, masked as monks and nuns, threw off the greater part of their raiment, and thus, half naked, threw themselves into obscene attitudes, whilst another group was busied in defiling the incense vessels in a manner too foul to be particularised. The pantomime went on during the whole time of high mass; but the delight of the spectators reached its climax when the officiating dignitary walked in procession round the

* "If we compare our Bacchanalian Christmases and New Years' Tides with these Saturnalia and Feasts of Janus, we shall finde such near affinitye betweene them both in regard of time, and in their manner of solemnizing (both of them being spent in revelling, epicurism, wantonnesse, idleness, dancing, drinking, stage plays, masques, and carnal pompe and jollitye), that we must needs conclude the one to be the ape or issue of the other. Hence Polydor Virgil affirms in expresse tearmes that our "Lords of Misrule," which custom is chiefly observed in England, together with dancing, masques, mumming, and such other Christmas disorders now in use with Christians, were derived from these Roman Saturnalia: which "should cause all pious Christians to abominate them."
—Prynne *Histrio Mastix*.

the conduct it behoves him to exhibit, so he may be an example unto all men." Thus decreed the reverend fathers assembled at Bâle; but we shall readily conceive how little the pope felt disposed to adopt their injunctions. Though well aware that the greater number of the resolutions had been passed but to satisfy the world outside, without any anticipation of their realization,* yet the financial changes proposed struck home so deeply that he felt it imperatively necessary to get rid of the council, if the apostolic throne were to be saved from a very serious peril.

Happily, a convenient pretext was not wanting, without having recourse to any violent measures. Eugenius was in negotiation with the Greek Church respecting its re-integration with Rome; and he now demanded that the Council of Bâle should unite with the Greek legates and thus form a true Ecumenical Council, which, as the said legates could not be required to extend their journey into Switzerland, might be best held in an Italian city, —Ferrara for instance. The proposal seemed a reason-

church, rolling his eyes, and making the most extravagant grimaces, as he gave the customary benediction to the people, for the main point of the festival was in its mockery of the priestly functions. Nor must it be supposed the vulgar alone constituted the spectators; the high nobility, even ladies of the most exalted rank, attended; even members of the higher clergy, bishops and archbishops, were ready to laugh heartily when the sham pope performed his part with humour,—thus, at least, tacitly admitting that the whole religious service of the time was nothing but a prodigious priestly sham.

* Contemporary writers declare that not any change for the better followed, even in the humblest convents, from the proceedings of the Bâle Synod, and assuredly no improvement in general ecclesiastical morality.

able one; but the reverend fathers soon penetrated its real object, and, when the pope, in a bull dated September 18, 1437, formally prorogued their assembly to Ferrara, the majority refused compliance with the command. Those of higher rank,—cardinals, archbishops, and bishops (especially the French and Italian),—were content to “depart;” but the lower representatives of the hierarchy—delegates from cathedral chapters and universities, doctors of theology, learned professors, &c.,—“remained,” declaring themselves the one true and legitimate Œcumenical Council, whose powers no pope could invalidate, as it was, by its very nature, “superior to the pope.” Eugenius, in return, issued an edict dissolving the Bâle Synod, and threatened the anathema in the event of disobedience. The synod then cited the pope to appear before it, and, on his non-appearance, passed and published a decree, January 21, 1438, suspending him from his functions, and further denouncing the rival Synod of Ferrara: “a gathering of schismatics.” This Synod of Ferrara, or Florence rather, Eugenius, for his greater convenience, had removed it to the latter city, had assembled as quickly as possible, and declared that: “It alone, in as much as it had been summoned by the pope, constituted a true Œcumenical Council, whilst at Bâle sat a beggarly mob,—mere vulgar fellows from the lowest dregs of the clergy,—apostates, blasphemers, rebels, men guilty of sacrilege,—jailbirds, men who, without exception, deserved ‘only to be hunted back to the devil, from whom they came.’” We can readily appreciate the pope’s satisfaction at this language; and he gave his seal to it by pronouncing the

ban against the Council of Bâle. The latter was not, however, daunted; returned scorn with scorn, insult with insult, anathema with anathema. May 25, 1439. —The recalcitrant fathers boldly declared Pope Eugenius a simonist, perjurer, and irredeemable heretic; a firebrand of discord; a waster of the goods of the Church; a rebel against God; and, in solemn convocation, pronounced his deposition,—choosing, finally, a successor to his throne in the person of Amadeus of Savoy, who assumed the title of Felix V.

Schism was once more established; reciprocal curses and bans recommenced. It must be acknowledged to the honour of Pope Felix, he kept much more within the limits of decency than his rival. Felix, even as Pontifex Maximus, could not divest himself of all the better influences of his earlier education, whilst Eugenius developed a bravoura in his style of imprecation such as no earlier or later pope ever equalled. He denounced Felix V. as a "hell-dog," and "Antichrist;" a "golden calf," and a "Mahomet;" the fathers at Bâle, "ravening beasts;" "devils disguised as men," who had set up the idol Moloch. In his fury, blessed and absolved the very highway robbers, who stopped supplies on the way to Bâle. He failed not to call on all kings and rulers to break off every kind of intercourse with "rebels," who notoriously had no other end in view than to establish a new schism in the Church; in the mean time, employing every possible means of bribery and persuasion to detach the more distinguished members from the body. In this he succeeded beyond all possible anticipation, so that, within a few years, the Bâle synod

had much the aspect of the German Rump Parliament of later times. The right, *de jure*, was undoubtedly on its side, but both power and worldly influence on that of Eugenius and the Council of Florence. The contest closed with the Council of Bâle, in the consciousness of its impotence, dissolving by its own act, anno 1443, when Pope Felix V. voluntarily resigned his nominal dignity, and Eugenius became sole pope once more. Since then, the world has been spared the spectacle of rival contemporaneous popes, though the interposition of the Holy Ghost in the decisions of the sacred college may be none the less questionable. Earthly passions and interests have dictated every papal election since, as anterior to the time of Eugenius IV. Each cardinal, chiefly intent on securing for himself the highest dignity in the Church, would leave no means untried, from the moment he assumed the red hat, for obtaining the votes of his colleagues. If, on a vacancy occurring, circumstances were unfavourable to his hopes, then the elevation of one of his brethren, who, in the course of nature, could not long retain the throne, became the first object of the defeated candidate, who thus sought in the future the chance of repairing present disappointment. We thus find that, for the last two hundred years, with rare exceptions, none have obtained the tiara but feeble old men, who, in a few years, were summoned to another world; but, despite the years and decrepitude of the candidates, the deliberations of their electors in conclave were generally as stormy as those of the stormiest Polish Diet.

One or two instances will be sufficient in illustration.

On the death of Clement XI., 1721, the cardinals were split into three factions, all equally disinclined to yield to the other. Such diversities of opinion had been known before in the sacred college; but never till then had eminences, scarlet hatted, fairly come to blows, thrown inkstands at each other's heads, or by reciprocal pulling of each other's locks, enforced the virtues of their several candidates. After liberal employment of clenched fists, emphasised by proportionate kicking and swearing, the majority agreed to elect a decrepid old cardinal, named Angelo Conti, who seemed little likely to wear the tiara for three years. The new pope assumed the name of Innocent XIII., and justified the hopes of his electors by dying within twenty-four months. As violent a scene accompanied the choice of his successor: for full two months the sacred college was in bitter internal conflict before finally nominating Cardinal Orsini, then seventy-six years of age, who took possession of St. Peter's chair as Benedict XIII. The strife was still fiercer on his decease, in 1730: the cardinals sat for three months in conclave before the spirit of union could develop itself among them;—of the Holy Spirit we assuredly find no trace. At length Cardinal Lorenzo Orsini, in honour of his seventy-six years of age and failing eyesight, obtained the requisite majority of votes, and became Pope Clement XII. It was surely impossible he should live long? But lo! to the sore disappointment of the college, His Holiness wore the tiara for ten years; and the cardinals resolved to act with greater circumspection on the next election, and on no account choose for his successor one who could live so unconscionably long. Seventy-

five princes of the church assembled in conclave on the death of Clement XII. ; and after debating for full six months (making sometimes so scandalous an uproar their voices were audible at half a mile distance) they finally resolved on the appointment of Cardinal Prospero Lambertini, then but sixty-five years of age, but apparently on the very edge of the grave. Lambertini, as Pope Benedict XIV., recovered, in defiance of the predictions of his surgeon, who had been consulted by the electors, and seemed to become every year more robust, until in 1728, when he, too, made way for a new candidate. Fortunately, this successor was one of the most amiable of all those who have worn the triple crown. The church might well regard his pontificate as a real boon, in marked disaccord with the feelings of the cardinals, for whom the papal "immortality," as they were pleased to call it, was a source of cruel irritation.

The succeeding elections were marked by the same character ; it would be too tedious to recount their details. In conclusion, we may quote a pleasant little bit of histrionism (*Lustiges Stucklein*) enacted by Cardinal Felice Peretti da Montalto, on the death of Gregory XIII., 1585, to the no little amusement of contemporary Christendom. Felice Peretti was the offspring of very poor parents, and had filled the duties of a swineherd in his childhood. By the good offices of his uncle he was taken into the Franciscan monastery at Ascoli, when thirteen years of age, and studied there with so much ardour, and to such good purpose, he was soon regarded as one of the rising luminaries of the church. He from thenceforth mounted step by step in his new profession,

until, in 1570, his chief patron, Pius V., raised him to the cardinalate: and from that moment all his efforts were directed to securing the papal throne. But the same object occupied his brother cardinals, though he adopted very different tactics to theirs. When Pius V. died and Gregory XIII. became pope, Cardinal Montalto immediately withdrew from public life under pretence of ill health, and to all appearance became wholly engrossed in his cares for his soul's welfare. He was considered by all completely dead to the world and its vanities, and he ever spoke of himself as having already one foot in the grave. When forced to attend his duties in the sacred college, he made his appearance with trembling steps, supported by a stout staff, whilst a continual cough seemed to indicate the inevitable death from consumption fast approaching. He meekly agreed to everything proposed by his brethren, and with a half inaudible voice breathed forth his hopes at the close of each meeting, that "God would soon release him from this vale of tears." If any sought to comfort him, by the assurance that he was still too young to think of death, he never failed to add eight years to his actual age; and those who beheld his hollow cheeks, his wrinkles (they were artificial), his lustreless eyes, slow gait, and figure bent to the ground, could not have doubted his assertion. In short, so effectual was the disguise, that the greater number of his colleagues regarded him as a childish old dotard, and called him in derision the "Ass from the Marches;—our Montalto was born in Grotta a Mare, in the Marches of Ancona. On hearing the joke, he merely smiled feebly, and made no answer. Such a

man was assuredly the best possible candidate for the papacy : not only might it be reasonably hoped his pontificate would be a very brief one, but that he would leave the government completely in the hands of the cardinals. Therefore, when Gregory XIII. died, in 1585, a majority of the forty-two, who then constituted the conclave, made Montalto pope, to the great wrath of Cardinals Medici and Farnesi, who, as the most influential of the body, considered the right to the honour lay between them alone. Montalto, with a low, faint voice, voted for Cardinal Rusticucci ; but his own election was soon determined, and scarcely was its result made known than the "triumphant candidate," says his biographer, Leti, threw away the crutches on which he had supported his sinking form, and immediately chanted forth the "*Te Deum Laudamus*," until the hall re-echoed with his full, sonorous tones. Bewildered, humiliated, the cardinals gazed at the palsied dotard thus transformed in their presence into a robust, energetic man. But Montalto was none the less pope, and held the reins of government with an unequalled sternness and resolute vigour.

But in such an election as this of Sixtus V. (for so Montalto designated himself), we shall also assuredly discover no place for "Infallibility," and the Holy Ghost.

BOOK VI.

POPE AND MODERN DAYS.

“ Ir G'walt ist veracht,
Ir Kunst wird verlacht,
Ir Lugen nit g'acht,
Geschwächt ist ihr Macht
Recht ist, 's, wie's Gott macht!”

Ambrosius Blaurer.

“ Your power 's despised,
Unheeded your lies,
Of your arts men make light,
All weakened your might ;—
God so wills and 'tis right!”

CHAPTER I.

THE RESURRECTION OF THE PAPACY.

ON the 29th of May, 1799, Pius VI. died a prisoner at Valence on the Rhone, and the whole world believed the papacy had for ever fallen. Rome, and the states of the church, Avignon, and the Comté of Venessain, had been appropriated by the French, and not a single rood of ground was left that the head of the church could call his own. The hatred of his former subjects was not satisfied by sending him beggared to a foreign land, but his attendants, and all, indeed, connected with the papal court, were relentlessly persecuted; no man known as a partisan of the triple crown escaped with life.*

* The revolution in Avignon was especially ruthless in character. On the nights of the 16th and 17th of August, the infuriated populace, led by Jourdans, Duprat, and Jouvès, murdered the last papal vice-legate, Philippe Casoni, with all his attendants. The spot, on the third story of the Trouillas tower, is still shown, whence the murdered man was thrown. The people had but too good cause for their hatred. The subterranean torture chambers of the Inquisition within the castle, and a thousand other blood-stained mysteries of the papal residence there, might well have awakened a thirst of vengeance in the gentlest natures. The tradition attached to the "Salle-brûlée" will sufficiently justify our assertion. In 1509, the nephew, or rather the illegitimate

No marvel, therefore, bishops and cardinals hurried from Rome with what speed they could, to the only land where they were assured of safety. That land, the reader will instinctively know, was Austria; indeed, in no other, not even in Spain, would the people hear longer of a "Christ's vicegerent." It was well nigh a year ere the cardinals, scattered as they were about the world, contrived to meet at Venice, and give a new chief to Christendom. The election took place May 14th, 1800. The successful aspirant, Cardinal Gregory Barnabas Chiaramonte became Pope Pius VII. The world again possessed a Pontifex Maximus, but a very negative one: he was landless, and no country but Austria acknowledged his authority, or even recognised his existence.

It then happened that General Buonaparte won the battle of Marengo, and thus having become the arbiter of Italy, restored the pope to his Roman throne. We might well ask his purpose in thus acting, for Buonaparte was assuredly not one of the most devoted sons

son of the resident legate, was put to death by the husband of a noble lady violated by him. The deed was accomplished at night, and without witnesses; the murderers were unknown; nor had the legate any means of penetrating the mystery, though he might well suspect who was the real offender. In this dilemma he invited every noble in Avignon, who had a well favoured wife, to a banquet at the castle, and when they were all seated at table, caused the door to be fast secured, and with his own hands set fire to a great barrel of pitch, which was then flung in among his guests from a trap door in the ceiling. The flames soon spread to every thing of a combustible nature within the room, and the guests all perished; he, who had revenged his wife's dishonour, with the rest. Such was the legate's retribution for his son's death, and the hall, which was subsequently restored, has ever since retained the name of the "Salle-brulée."

of the church ; but the explanation is easily found. He had already resolved to be emperor of the French, and made peace with the church, or rather with the hierarchy, to secure its aid for his project. The French were again to mould their thoughts on Roman Catholicism, for a "reason" worship was unsuited to the demands of an autocrat ; despotism can only prosper when the people have abdicated their right of free thought. For this, therefore, Napoleon concluded in 1801 a concordat with Pius VII., and restored the papal supremacy over the church. The pope, naturally very grateful, proved himself not grateful only, but even devoted, hoping through the future emperor of the world to recover all the ancient rights of the apostolic see. For this he entitled General Buonaparte the "Restorer of the Catholic Religion, Protector of the faith, and Saviour of the church from the abyss of revolution." He even decreed a new religious festival in honour of a St. Napoleon, and showed the greatest readiness to perform the coronation of the new emperor at Paris, October 31st, 1804.

But Pius already, during his visit to the French capital, perceived too clearly that Imperial Majesty had little intention of restoring papal power, and had invited the Vicegerent of heaven but to give a spectacle to the Parisians. Napoleon would become the anointed of the Lord, as Pepin of old had been ; but this end attained, the bestower of the sacred chryisma might go whither he listed, though with quite other feelings than those with which he had entered France. Napoleon's studied condescension was a sore trial to endure, still

more so were the ecclesiastical laws promulgated by him, and the restoration of the edict,* so called, of "Gallican church independence" of 1682, which almost wholly emancipated the church of France from Rome.

This must, indeed, have been a sore tribulation to the pope, for thenceforth every form of "monetary aid" from France to the Roman curia was strictly interdicted, whilst the emperor further retained in his own hands the right of presentation to all the episcopal and archiepiscopal sees within his dominions, leaving to the apostolic chair only the nominal right of ratifying the presentation when already determined; that therefore a reformation of the church, or rather the suppression of its systematic obscurantism was seriously resolved on, but never for a moment a revival of its ancient power; indeed, the whole fabric palpably was merely allowed to exist on sufferance, and by the emperor's special grace. Then followed a further abomination in the suppression of the convents and monasteries of Germany, the secularization of its episcopal lands and revenues. This secularization extended even into Naples, formerly so devoted to Rome; but then Napoleon's brother Joseph was invested with the crown of the two Sicilies.

Under such circumstances we can feel no wonder that Pius in his wrath grew so stiff-necked that, as it has been said, "he became a very mule, that will neither budge for words nor blows."

* We have already referred to this edict—the "*quatuor propositiones cleri Gallicani*," in the second book of our first volume, and we need here only add that it suffered some modifications under Louis XIV. and Louis XV., and was re-established on a still broader basis by Napoleon.

The pope might well suppose that no opposition he could offer would avail against the power of a Napoleon, but he had grown too indignant at such a return for the sacred unction bestowed in Paris, and resolved to stir no step, let this Corsican strike or spur as he would, —in short, meet the demands of his antagonist with the resoluteness of one driven to the last extremity.

In pursuance of this course, he refused to acknowledge Joseph as king of Naples; resisted, in the most determined manner, the imposition of the code Napoleon on the Roman states, and not only declined to close his ports to English vessels, but despite its heresy entered into an alliance with England, to the bitter annoyance of the Emperor Napoleon, who wanted to cut off the islanders from all intercourse with the rest of Europe, by the so-called "continental blockade." Napoleon had recourse to reprisals, commanding General Miollis to march on Rome; the general entered the city on the 2nd of February, 1808, disarmed the papal troops, but to His Holiness was offered the alternative of entering into an alliance, defensive and offensive, with France, thus putting an end to the disorders throughout Italy, or behold the loss of his capital. Napoleon treated his reverend opponent with a certain consideration, making only such demands that might reasonably obtain acceptance, but Pius VII. turned a deaf ear to all reasoning, and grew the more obstinate the more the French emperor proved conciliatory. Instead of strengthening his position by political tact, he had recourse to the old sacerdotal weapons, and immediately ordered his legates in Paris to demand their passports.

Then came an end to Napoleon's patience, and the papal provinces of Urbino, Macerato, Ancona, and Camerino * were united with the kingdom of Italy.

Still the pope yielded not; protested, indeed, with the greatest energy, forbade all Italian bishops to obey the French authorities, and even in a Brief, issued April 3, 1809, threatened the ban and interdict against the emperor for despoiling St. Peter's patrimonium, as though the days of Gregory VII. had returned again. But this was a fatal error.

Until then the Emperor had left Rome and the districts immediately surrounding the city in the hands of the pope; but, when Pius carried his pretensions to such extremities, Napoleon, on the 17th of May, 1809, decreed, from his camp before Vienna, the expropriation of the last remnants of church territory to the advantage of the kingdom of Italy, Rome to become an IMPERIAL FREE CITY.†

* The decree issued by Napoleon on this occasion declares:—"In consideration of the persistent refusal of the temporal sovereign of Rome to enter into an alliance with the kings of Upper Italy and Naples, for the defence of the Italian peninsula against the English, though the interests of both the said powers, as well as those of the States of the Church, demanded this; in consideration, further, that the lands constituting the States of the Church, granted by our revered predecessor Charlemagne, were granted for the service of Christendom, not for the profit of the enemies of our holy religion; in consideration, finally, that, by command of the pope, the legate of the Roman court demanded his passport on 30th of March last, we hereby resolve and decree, that the said provinces of Urbino, Ancona, Macerato, and Camerino be henceforth and for ever united to our kingdom of Italy."

† The edict ran:—"In consideration that various lands and lordships granted the pope by our revered predecessor Charlemagne, were so granted in fief merely, whilst Rome, by the said grants, never ceased to

The realization of the imperial edict had not long to be awaited, and the pope found himself by the close of May, 1809, as effectually secularised as the rest of the ecclesiastical princes of Europe. But Napoleon was generous, and not only appointed a handsome revenue for the Head of the Church and his cardinals, exempted his estates and palaces from all taxes, but even exonerated them from the civil jurisdiction of the state. It might have been supposed the pope would gratefully acknowledge such magnanimity, and resign himself to that which appeared inevitable. But not so. Scornfully spurning Napoleon's offers, he retired behind the walls of St. Angelo, resolved to defend himself with the ancient artillery which had formerly made the whole world tremble. In his self-delusion he saw not that the once redoubtable thunderbolts had grown rusty from centuries of disuse, and that ban and interdict were no weapons wherewith to humble a Napoleon. He even at last dreamed of a crusade against France as in the days of the Waldensian heresy. It might well seem incredible, but it is yet true, that, on the 9th and 10th of June, 1809, Pius actually issued two Bulls of anathema, the first directed against the Emperor Napoleon as the originator of papal secularisation; the second consigning

form part of the French monarchy; in consideration, further, that the mixture of the temporal and spiritual power has grown an inexhaustible source of discord, since the popes are too apt to abuse their spiritual authority for the support of their temporal pretensions; in consideration, finally, that the interests of Heaven (which are immutable), whilst the bishops of Rome possess temporal sovereignty are ever entangled with worldly interests; we hereby ordain, the States of the Church shall henceforth be indissolubly united with the French empire.

to lowest Hell all participators in the seizure of the states of the Church.

The scheme was a bold one, but it bore evil fruit. On the night of the 6th or 7th of July, a body of soldiers, under General Radel, scaled the garden wall of the Vatican—got into the palace by a window—broke through the locked doors opposing their advance—disarmed the Swiss guard—and so made a forcible entrance into the sleeping chamber of the pope, from whom they demanded a categorical declaration that he would renounce all temporal pretensions and withdraw the Bull of anathema. Pius VII. refused, protesting he would rather accept the worst fate in store for him than sign such an abdication, moreover, threatening General Radel with the sternest penalties of the Church if he dared lay hands on the successor of the apostles; but the general would seem to have felt very little concern for these threats; caused the Head of the Church to be made fast in an arm chair, and so lowered down by the broken window into the street below; there a close carriage was in waiting—the prisoner was placed in it—the horses dashed off at full speed—and with a strong escort in attendance, he passed through the gates of Rome, then over Florence to Turin, and by Mont Cenis to Grenoble. There, at length, a halt was made; an imperial palace placed at the pope's disposal, and Napoleon once more offered him a revenue of 2,000,000 francs, and all the appurtenances of a court in whichever city of the south of France he might choose as a residence. Pius VII. answered only, he could hold no intercourse with one under the ban, and acted with such studied defiance that

the emperor lost patience, caused him to be removed over Valence and Nice to Savona, and there guarded as a prisoner. Pius still yielded no iota, and refused to recognise the bishops nominated by Napoleon, with the avowed purpose of exciting discontent among the French people. He not less positively opposed the emperor's divorce from Josephine Beauharnais, and subsequent union with Marie Louise. He procured, by the assistance of Cardinal di Pietro, a number of pamphlets to be printed at Lyons, in which Napoleon's acts were violently assailed; in short, neglected no means of injuring the man to whom, in 1809, he had been, as it were, indebted for very existence. To put an end to this factious opposition, Napoleon caused his adversary to be removed to Fontainebleau (1812), where he was finally induced (1813) to confirm the "Four Articles" of the Gallican Church, and recognise the imperial bishops. Scarcely had this treaty been signed and the hope sprang up in France of restored peace for the Church, than Pius suddenly declared his own solemnly given word as null and void, and revoked all his late promises: "since the 'Four Articles' of 1682 were totally incompatible with the very existence of the papacy." *

* The holy father in his letter to Napoleon, by which he sought to justify this breach of faith, strangely enough, appealed to the precedent offered by Paschalis II., who had declared a treaty regarding the pallium investiture, concluded with the Emperor Henry V., null and void, immediately after solemnly swearing to it, and even taking the sacrament thereon as a further pledge of sincerity, therefore he, Pius, claimed the same privilege of "oath breaking." This was surely the perfection of naïve infamy.

Napoleon, made indignant beyond measure at the treachery, again caused the pope to be held prisoner; it availed him not. Pius at once began to intrigue with the Bourbons; but in all probability would never have regained his temporal power had not the emperor shortly afterwards fallen, and with him his whole dynasty.

The only country on which the pope could rely in those days of tribulation was Austria, as, indeed, we have already indicated. The House of Hapsburg, from of old, distinguished itself as devotedly "papistical," rather than piously Catholic, and the reigning Emperor Francis had been educated in the same traditions,—that the Christian religion is synonymous with the papacy.

The pope, indeed, proved the wisdom of his tactics in secretly despatching a letter from Fontainebleau to the Emperor of Austria, to secure his advocacy at the Peace Congress, then (1813) sitting at Praga. Francis was thoroughly well disposed to the office, but the congress had unhappily dissolved before the papal missive reached Vienna; for this time, at least, nothing could be effected. The following year, the allied armies took the field against Napoleon. Paris was entered in triumph by the Emperors of Austria and Russia, the King of Prussia, and the representative of the English sovereign; and the Napoleon dynasty (for a period) annulled not only for Italy, but for France. The possibility of papal resuscitation had arrived, and Pius lost no moment in availing himself of it. The allied monarchs based their proceeding on the *reconstruction* of the map of Europe as it had existed before the

French Revolution, and the restoration of the various dispossessed dynasties to their former position. Pius applied a second time to Kaiser Francis,* and the sovereigns of England, Prussia, and Russia, demanding in the name of justice that the states of the Church should be again made over to him. The allies entered into his demands, though assuredly not on religious grounds, since three of the number were non-Catholic, and the Emperor of Austria alone, of the orthodox faith. To whom, indeed, could the States of the Church be given? To King Murat, still reigning at Naples? To the Austrians? To the French? Heaven forbid the thought! Italy should be again as it had been before the French revolution,—a land utterly rent asunder, cursed with hopeless impotence! Besides, was it not all important to three of the four members of the Holy Alliance to support the doctrine of divine right (*Gottesgnadenthum*) as their guiding principle, whilst the Emperor of Austria, to whom the North of Italy had fallen,

* The pope said, among things in his letter to the emperor, "No desire for lands or power, but the service of religion, our sacred duty to God, to the Church, to our people, and especially our oath, to preserve, defend, and watch over the possessions of the Apostolic throne, we made at our elevation to the papacy, all these stringently enjoin us to demand the restoration of our states, for as much they are not our personal inheritance, but the inheritance of St. Peter, who received them from God, for the free and unfettered support of His divine authority in the guidance of men's souls, and preservation of church unity among many lands and nations at enmity." So did the pope justify his claims on central Italy. The reader will have little difficulty in resolving his euphonious periods into far simpler, but far plainer, English.

was, above all things, intent on the eradication of the last vestige of revolution in the peninsula. As a conservative, or rather, a reactionary Italy without a Pope would not be conceivable, how could the allies act but as they acted? No, it behoved them to reinstate the pope if the principles of the Holy Alliance were to prosper.

So, on the 24th of May, 1814, Pius VII. returned to Rome, and once more entered into possession of the states of the Church. The papacy was restored in all its glory.

CHAPTER III.

THE POPES CHANGE NOT.

ONCE only, since the states of the Church have existed, has the population had reason to feel content. This exceptional period lies from 1809 to 1814, when Rome, and all the territory appertaining to it, was under French rule. Napoleon, after the removal of the pope in 1809, established a Council of State, presided over by General Miollis, who at once annulled the jurisdiction of the Inquisition, the right of Sanctuary, and the whole mediæval machinery by which the popes had governed until then. Instead of this, the code Napoleon was substituted, and impartial justice accorded to all. The change in the civil administration was not less salutary ; indeed, the whole former system was at one blow overturned. The newly-organised police service proved especially effective ; and the murders, burglaries, and highway robbery, before so rife, soon well nigh ceased. The inhabitants of St. Peter's patrimony, during the French occupation, could feel that they were men, and had the right of living as freeborn, thinking beings. No one was found to regret the pope's departure throughout his dominions but the brigands, whose profession had been

ruined by the new government. How went affairs on the pope's return?

It might have been hoped that the long captivity suffered by Pius VII. would not have passed without leaving its lesson on his mind; that he would have learnt by it the necessity of keeping pace with the age,—the hopelessness of struggling against the stream of events. Unhappily it was not so: the Pope remained what he had ever been,—he was immutably the same. Therefore, when in 1814, the year of his restoration, the princes met at the Congress of Vienna to regulate the new aspect of the world, he demanded through his legate, the notorious Cardinal Consalvi, full and complete restoration of the former power of the church,—especially insisting, that the secularisation of church property throughout Catholic Europe should be at once rescinded, and all things reconstituted on the olden basis. “The Holy Roman Empire, as the central point of political union among Christian states, to be without delay restored, or the papacy must lose its chief reliance as the central point of religious and canonical unity among Christian states;” moreover, “the dissolved monasteries, with all their revenues, be re-constituted, and the prince-bishops re-integrated with their lands and prerogatives; Protestant rulers, especially, to yield up all the ecclesiastical lands which had accrued to them by the treaties of the last thirty years; above all, France to give back the principality of Avignon and the comté of Veneissan to the apostolic throne, or incur the worst of all crimes,—the crime of sacrilege.”

Such was the language held by the pope, and we can

see in it that the whole period from 1789 had, indeed, no existence for him. His thoughts and acts were alike merged in the one object, of restoring the Middle Ages, with all their sacerdotal power and mental characteristics. The Vienna congress, naturally, could not ratify such demands; for it could not annul with a scratch of the pen all history from 1789 to 1814. What course, then, remained to the pope? He solemnly protested against all arrangements which might prove injurious to the interests and claims of the Apostolic throne; and the protest was presented by his cardinal legate and added to the protocols.

Though it was found impracticable to re-plunge all European Christendom into the dark ages, by diplomacy at Vienna, yet so much the more successful was the pope in carrying out the experiment in his own territories,—there he at once abrogated the Napoleon code, and any other French innovations, restoring all things to the same status as before the year 1780. The whole judicial and civil administration, the police system; in short, all was remodelled and came forth again thoroughly mediævalised, and so has remained under the next succeeding popes, until the present time. If to day the great Kaiser Karl V. could rise from his grave he would have the satisfaction of finding, at least in one land, all his oppressive criminal tribunals, with their racks, tortures and death penalties, still in activity,—and that land the one governed by the Holy Father, the vicegerent of God upon earth!

The reader will not require from us a detailed relation of the domestic policy of Rome; but a few facts will

sufficiently serve our purpose and give an adequate conception of the utter demoralisation of this system of government;—facts, too, which distinguish the papal administration from every other in the world. Until within a very brief period, so long, indeed, as the pope still ruled absolutely throughout the “patrimony of St. Peter,” in the whole land there was no single public office of the slightest importance or profit that was not filled by a priest,—of course, quite irrespective of his fitness for the duties required. In the criminal courts, for example, but half the Bench was represented by men who had gone through the necessary professional studies; the rest constituted by ecclesiastics without any pretence to the knowledge of the law. The evil became still more flagrant in the civil courts: there, for every three judges two were priests, and one only a properly-qualified jurist. On what principle decisions were given may be easily conceived, whilst the abuses would be still more gross in the absence of any code on which to found judgment. Nor was this enough: there were, and still are, a number of special courts. For example:—all ecclesiastical corporations and landed proprietors have the right of dispensing justice within their own domains; no priest or monk can be tried by the ordinary tribunals, whether on a civil suit or criminal prosecution. The strangest of the “special courts” is that called St. Peter’s Tribunal, which has the right of privately examining the wills of deceased persons previous to the legal term for proving them. The object is, to discover what legacy or bequest St. Peter and his church have received (or if some provision of the kind cannot be interpolated).

Such was the "justice" established in all the states of the church, and such it still remains in those the pope yet rules over; so that it may be said with truth that justice has there really no existence. In the total absence of every guarantee for personal freedom, every *sbire*, every police agent can seize and throw into prison any one at his mere discretion. To give but one example of their method of procedure; among the six hundred and eighty-three persons consigned to fort Urban at Bologna, on the 21st of August, 1855, there were one hundred and twenty-four against whom no charge had ever been preferred, and, as the prison lists stated, they had been incarcerated merely for precautionary reasons. If we demand what treatment such prisoners received, the answer might well fill us with horror. The places used for their reception were well calculated to destroy not only the bodily health but even the mental sanity of the victims. Loathsome dens, unventilated, without light, deep underground in the damp earth, or in lofty towers exposed to the fierce rays of a southern sun; cells filled with so poisonous an effluvium, that the healthiest man would in a few weeks be prostrated with sickness if exposed to it, and such receptacles are called prisons within the states of the church.* To these must be

* After the greatest part of "St. Peter's patrimony" was added to the new kingdom of Italy in 1859, and the sufferings to which the people had been exposed brought to light, an official report by the Marquis Pepoli on the state of the prisons in Umbria furnished, among other particulars, the following:—"When I inspected the prisons at Orviedo, accompanied by one of the magistrates, we were both obliged to quit the cells after a few seconds, so pestilent and suffocating was the atmosphere within them. Irrespective of blows, chains, and hunger, the pallid

added, the infliction of a greater or less number of blows with a stick, employed at discretion by the judges during the preliminary examinations, and various other forms of torture and martyrdom, followed in so many instances by the suicide or madness of the sufferer.

Political prisoners were inevitably the most mercilessly treated; if, now and then, the outward forms of justice were employed in favour of a brigand or a murderer, they were inevitably discarded when a political offender was concerned. Such an one after lying long years in prison without trial, would only appear before his judge to receive the inevitable sentence to the bagnio, where he must, perforce, associate with the vilest malefactors.

So gross an abuse of power might well seem beyond credence, and yet the reader will no longer marvel at it, when we add, that all political offences are taken cognizance of by a special court, the "Santa Consulta," in which priests only have the right to sit in judgment, whilst they are endowed with such singular plenitude of power that they "neither allow the accused to be confronted with a witness, nor to employ an advocate;" from such a tribunal what can be anticipated but ruthless persecution and oppression.

aspect of the condemned bore witness that the state of their place of confinement was alone sufficient to cause the death of any one obliged to remain within it. I found the prisons of Maggione, Spelto, Gualto, Tadino, Fecoli, Castiglione, and Perugia in no better condition. The same damp, fœtid air prevalent everywhere; the walls running with moisture, and the straw in the truckle beds completely rotten." To this, food as bad as it was insufficient, an unremitting use of the lash, and, finally, the moral tortures inflicted by the priests. What more were possible?

Still more infamous, if possible, than the judicature is the police system in the states of the church. We may say, without fear of contradiction, that the territories held by the pope, swarming, as they do, with brigands and robbers, have afforded, since 1814, less security to life and property than any other country in Europe. There are but few cities within the "patrimony of St. Peter" where, for the last forty years, it has been safe to traverse the streets, or even cross one's own threshold after nightfall.

Under Pius VII., Leo XII., Pius VIII., Gregory XVI., or from 1814 to 1846, the robbers of the Campagna acquired a kind of European celebrity, and the papal government often found itself obliged to enter into treaties with them as with legitimate potentates. There was not, indeed, any lack either of papal police soldiers or gendarmes, but their energy in dealing with brigandage may well be matter of question. The majority of the priesthood were in league with the brigands, and employed them for the persecution or removal of persons suspected of liberal tendencies. Thus many of the robber chiefs, the famous Passatore among them, were not only in the habit of capturing wealthy persons in order to extract a ransom for their release, but levied black mail, or plundered whole towns and villages which they entered in the full light of day, wielding far more absolute power than the pope with all his soldiers and gendarmes.* Nor are the other branches of the papal

* In place of the multitude of examples our readers may find in the periodical press, we shall content ourselves with the following characteristic episode of brigandage. One evening the theatre at Bologna was

administration less subject to perversion and abuse than the judicature and police: trade, agriculture, manufactures, education, the four chief factors of national prosperity, have fallen in the states of the church to the lowest level well consistent with any form of civilization, whilst the government takes every means within its power to crush in the germ every attempt at self-development among its subjects. Despite the wealth of the soil, which demands industry alone to make it yield the richest harvests in the world, despite the splendid rivers which irrigate the land, and seem to challenge human ingenuity in the great motive power they offer, despite the magnificent harbours on the frontiers washed by two seas, where trade might find every natural facility

more than usually crowded, for a new piece was to be given. The curtain rose, and exhibited the stage occupied by a troop of bandits with muskets levelled at the audience. At the first moment many took for granted that the scene formed a part of the play, but they were very soon disillusioned; the captain of the band advanced to the front and formally called on some of the more distinguished spectators to enter into an arrangement with him for the ransom of the rest. He added that any person attempting to quit the theatre, or give an alarm, would be immediately shot. What course was possible in such a dilemma? None, indeed, but submission; for each mentally felt a bullet through his breast. Those summoned by name declared their readiness to fetch the required thousands of scudi from their strong boxes at home, and the captain of the brigands appointed an armed escort to accompany them for the purpose, with orders to dispatch the hostages at the slightest sign of any inclination to escape or summon assistance. During the whole period of their absence, the audience within the theatre sat perfectly silent in terror of the robber's muskets. Their liberators at length returned, paid over the money demanded, and, in another moment, the brigand chief and his men had disappeared, though they politely opened the closely-locked doors of the building before doing so. This is surely an incident sufficiently in point; the more so when we remember it occurred in a city numbering 72,000 inhabitants.

for development—despite all these things, the States of the Church are among the poorest and most degraded of all the countries of Europe. How could it be otherwise in the actual status of the people, or rather in the ignorance and mental darkness to which they are foredoomed? Yet there are no fewer than seven universities within the states of the church, namely, five of the second rank, as at Perugia, Camerino, Ferno, Macerato, Ferrara, and two of the first rank at Bologna and Rome, the last adorned with the title of “La Sapienza.” But shall we find the ability and attainments of the professors in accordance with this high-sounding title? Are they not in nearly every instance mere theologians, or members either of the regular or secular clergy, who profess to teach things of which they are either totally ignorant, or but very superficially informed?

The man of the most distinguished acquirements could fill no chair at any of these universities without previously giving his adhesion to the official doctrines of obscurantism. The sciences, which form the very basis of mental development, natural philosophy, and metaphysics, are inexorably banished from these pious walls. We may, thence, conclude how the higher branches of knowledge fare in the papal states, despite all pretentious titles; but of these matters it is not now our purpose to speak, but rather of the popular education in the government schools, where the children of peasants and mechanics, &c., are professedly taught reading, writing, history, geography, and the rudiments of the physical sciences. What really is effected by these schools? Simply, nothing (*gar nichts*). The pope

declares that for salvation frequent confession, and bead-telling, regular offerings, and mass attendance, is alone requisite, and would seem to wholly despise the above branches of worldly knowledge. Throughout the States of the Church, there is not a single normal school; the duties of education devolved wholly into the hands of the monks and nuns. And the grand result is found in the fact, that scarcely a fifth of the pope's subjects can barely read and write. Thus does the Holy Father bring up his children, in such wise does he rule his domains. Are we not justified in declaring that the revival of the mediæval ages was at least successfully accomplished within the States of the Church.

Whether the population is happy under the régime is another question. The answer is unhappily, positively, unconditionally, in the negative. However helpless such a political system renders the people, they instinctively feel no better can ever exist for them, except by the complete demolition of its whole machinery, and the removal of the temporal power from the hands of the pope. It is to this cause, that in no country throughout the world, has there existed such constant discontent among the people against their rulers, as in the States of the Church. This discontent grows unceasingly, until it becomes an intense scorn and detestation, and the people eagerly seize every opportunity of making their feelings manifest. Thus, revolution and insurrection are of constant recurrence; though sometimes of greater, sometimes of less importance, and often ending in the pope being driven from Rome, and the Roman territories, though the effects of these popular move-

ments are but transitory, and the pope always returns to the Vatican within no long interval.

But so unanimous is the hatred of the Romans for their sovereign, he never returns by the efforts of any party at home, which has remained faithful to his cause, nor those of the army he maintains, but always by aid of foreign bayonets, and the intervention of foreign potentates. The proof of this was sufficiently given by the revolution of 1831, when within the four days (from the fourth to the eighth of February), the "temporal power was completely overthrown, though the apostolic chair had then 10,000 Swiss mercenaries in its pay. Within a few weeks the revolution was suppressed, the Austrians entering Bologna on the 21st of March; but we may easily imagine what would have come to pass if the house of Hapsburgh had had less papistic tendencies.

Again, we may recall the like insurrection of 1832, when to preserve the Holy Father from his "beloved children," Bologna was once more garrisoned by the Austrians, Ancona by the French; whilst in later years these troubles were of such chronic frequency, that French and Austrians never, in fact, quitted the states. When they left, the pope must also have departed; and to put an end to so an abnormal a state of things, the great powers at length represented to Pope Gregory that his system of administration did not meet the needs and interests of his people, and that reforms must be inaugurated without delay. And what did the pope? He gave fair words in reply, and did nothing. Whilst his reign lasted no ray of enlightenment was permitted

to enter the land, and but for the foreign soldiery "order," could not have been a day maintained.

He died at length, and after his death in 1846, Giovanni Maria Conte de Mastai Feretti, assumed the government as Pius IX. He had been chosen apparently to soothe the public animosity so universally excited by the miserable political system of his predecessor, and his first steps on coming into power did, indeed, seem to promise the dawn of a new era. He published an amnesty, and chose quite other advisers than had directed Gregory's counsels. The enthusiasm and delight of the people was boundless, and never was monarch more honoured by his subjects than Pius IX., by the population of the "states."

But it was soon apparent all this rapture was but ill-founded—how, indeed, could a pope be a reformer? To be so, he must at once abandon all the traditions of his office, renounce his very entity as it were,—assuredly too great a sacrifice to expect from any man. To epitomise events: the pope soon repented his unpopal liberalism, and aided by the Bavarian ambassador, quitted Rome in disguise, on the 25th of November, 1848, to seek safety from his rebellious subjects in the fortress of Gaëta. The Romans made good use of the opportunity, and undeterred by the ban and interdict fulminated against them, at once set themselves to the formation of a provisional government, and having declared the rule of the pope abolished for ever, proclaimed a republic; but the triumph was short lived. The Catholic powers, in reply to the appeal of His Holiness, resolved in March, 1849, to reinstate him by an armed interven-

tion. The Austrians took possession of the Legations, the French landed at Civitavecchia, and after a sanguinary conflict entered Rome in triumph.

Not long afterwards Pius IX. re-entered his capital (April 12, 1850), cured for ever of all "progress-quackery," as it was called (*aufklärungsschwindle*), and re-inaugurated the system by which his predecessors had rendered their subjects so peculiarly blessed. The papacy was fully re-established, and for that very reason could not exist without French or Austrian support. Pius IX. endeavoured, with all the means at his command, to organise an army, that he might declare his government independent; but what manner of men composed the *soldatesca* collected by him? It was a vast gathering of the dregs and offscourings of the whole Catholic world, with capacity for nothing but plunder and rapine,* falling into a panic at the appearance of an

* We need but remind the reader of the horrors committed at Perugia by the papal mercenaries; (Italians would think themselves dishonoured by entering the papal army, and abandon its ranks to Bavarians, Wurttembergers, Switzers, Tyroleans, Saxons, and the people of Baden and Ireland;) horrors, which won for the leader of the troop, the Swiss captain, Smidt, the name of the "Burner of Perugia." No quarter was given: the mother was massacred with her unborn child; and when all resistance on the part of the insurrection had ceased, and those among the rebels capable of bearing arms had left the city, the slaughter of the helpless multitude left behind commenced, and the atrocities perpetrated exceeded, perhaps, the worst of which even Austrian *pandours* and *raïzen* were ever guilty. Women and young girls were foully violated, then impaled alive, or thrown from the house windows, to be caught on the bayonets held below; or they were transfixed with lances and so dragged through the streets,—mothers, with their babes, thrust into oil casks, which were then set on fire. In Magdeberg itself no greater atrocities had ever been committed; yet Pope Pius thought not of laying ban or interdict on the brutal leader of his troops; but on the contrary, appointed him for his "heroic conduct" in this affair to the rank of general of brigade.

armed antagonist. It was, therefore, impossible to retain the Legations and the Marches of Ancona, after 1859, when the Austrians in the last Italian campaign were forced to evacuate Milan, and therefore abandon the papal territory; the population had immediately risen in revolt, the papal troops were defeated, and the provinces have since then belonged by their own will to King Victor Emmanuel. In one word, our own time clearly proves the temporal power of the pope could be maintained over no rood of ground unless supported by foreign armed intervention; that if the French troops marched out of Rome and took ship at Civitia Vecchia for France, within twenty-four hours of the event Pius IX. and all his cardinals and high priests, spies, sbiri, gendarmes, and even his model army, would be cleanly and completely swept from the land.

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As the popes of modern times govern (or mis-govern) as their forbears of old, so they resemble them in every other regard. To take their interpretation of "apostolic poverty," for example, can we find any sign of change therein? In any early page,* in referring to the annatæ, pallium, and various other usurious sources of revenue, enjoyed by the Roman curia, we called attention to the fact that these "nomination," or "promotion taxes," were still exacted even at the present time, though now assuming the form of a "fixed tribute," we, therefore, scarce need say anything more on the subject. Every appointment, every nomination to a higher grade in the

* Vol. i., book i.

hierarchy,—if a bishop is made an archbishop, or cardinal, the promotion, as of old, originates with the pope, or at least receives his ratification, but neither the ratification nor the promotion takes place without a “consideration”—a premium in hard coin—and the old sin of simony still flourishes as of yore. So is it with “dispensations,” “canonizations,” the trade in relics, and the like charlatanry, whatever name it may bear. In all these, the pope of to-day is as his predecessors were in centuries gone by, though he may possibly conduct the business with somewhat more regard to decency than they thought requisite. Even the sale of indulgences has not been abolished, though every thinking man acknowledges it as the most infamous of all papal schemes for extracting money.

“What!” cries the reader, “can one still, for a certain round sum, get quit of one’s misdeeds?” Assuredly this is so, for we even find Leo X.’s “*Taxa sacræ pœnitentiariæ*” (papal price current for sins) still accepted, though the whole enlightened Catholic world denounces it as a shameless and blasphemous contrivance for plunder. Certificates of indulgence may yet be had by those who will pay for them, though they are no longer hawked about the world as in Tetzels days; the requirements of outward decorum are now far more respected, especially in those countries where, by juxtaposition with the reformed church, their neglect might endanger the interests of Catholicism. Even the Great Plenary Absolution, the year of jubilee, has descended to our times. The popes, ignoring the general public opinion which declares such an institution not only an offence to mo-

rality, but even ridiculous, have celebrated it every twenty-fifth year, as decreed by Paul II., anno 1470. In 1800, the festival was prevented by the political troubles in which Europe was involved. There was, as we have seen, indeed, no pope, as it were, existent, or no pope in Rome, and who had any influence in the world; but twenty-five years later, Leo XII. (1823-29) resolved, in spite of all opposing considerations, to revive the great pilgrimage to Rome, that had so long fallen into abeyance. In his brief to this effect, dated 24th of May, 1824, he declared—

“It were a sin to longer deprive the chosen people of the great boon of the Jubilee Year, which they were obliged to forego in the year 1800,” and he therefore invited all Christendom to visit Rome, “that city so peculiarly favoured and sanctified by God.” The festival was actually celebrated as it had been of old, and opened at the hour of early vespers on Christmas eve, the 24th of December, 1825, with due observance of all the usual ceremonies, and amid the enthusiasm of the Romans and a vast multitude of strangers assembled on the occasion. But it was soon apparent, to the sore tribulation of the Holy Father, that the greater number of foreign pilgrims were mere “beggars and vagabonds, pickpockets, pimps, and loose women;” and Leo XII. then published a new and more energetic appeal to the faithful, that they “should not neglect this opportunity of securing a full and complete remission of their sins.” He even prolonged the period of the jubilee until 1827, that “decent and moral persons, and persons of influence (those, doubtless, who would not fail at the offertory),” might

be induced to come in place of the multitude of paupers by whom the charitable institutions were over-crowded. But all was in vain, mankind refused to be transplanted back into the dark ages; and throughout Germany, Spain, Poland, and France, the Great Jubilee passed quite disregarded. Even the superior classes in Italy held aloof, and thus the primary object, that of filling the somewhat reduced papal coffers, totally failed. Yet this failure did not deter Pius IX. from preparations for celebrating the same festival in 1850; but then ensued the troubles of 1848 and 1849, and the peaceful celebration was, of course, as impossible as it had been in 1800. Pius, in 1848, was obliged, as we have seen, to turn his back on his states, and he did not re-enter them until 1850, and then not to reign in peace and goodwill over his subjects. Times had strangely changed; not even the prospect of the rich harvest the Romans had always reaped from the Jubilee, could now reconcile them to their ruler. Pius comprehended not their perversity; but what could be done? Modern popes have been more successful with Peter's pence, that other great financial resource of the Roman Curia (of which we have already spoken at length), than with the Great Jubilee. Though Peter's pence is no longer what it was in the middle ages, when furnished by so many European nations, though it cannot take the form of a legal tribute due to Rome, the offering, or alms, is now understood to be a purely voluntary one, made to the so "oft sorely pressed Holy Father," and, as the clerical party lay great stress on its "voluntary nature, it may not be out of place to consider for a moment if this gift really

merit such title, or if it does not originate in a certain moral compulsion?*

It will be answered, the amount given is at the will of the giver, that no one is subjected to compulsion, for in the very freedom of the offering is affected to be shown the deep devotion to the Holy Father implanted in the heart of the Catholic. But, regarded from another point of view, in nearly every place where collections are made for the pope, do not priests and monks, even nuns and sisters of charity, go from house to house exhorting the faithful to offer their mite on the altar of the church? And is not every one who refuses to subscribe according to his means denounced and persecuted as an enemy not only of the pope and the papacy, but of the Catholic church and doctrine? Such are the facts regarding the "voluntary system" in most places, though, of course, they do not apply in every instance. Yet, be this as it may, assuredly the revenue from Peter's pence is not less profitable at the present time than in bygone ages, whilst the popes assuredly exhibit no diminished "ardour in the collection" of the tax. To take but a single instance, and one furnished by our own time, the total thus brought together in the year 1860 amounted, according to the "*Giornale di Roma*," the papal official organ, to no less a sum than 7,700,000 francs, whilst, during the early months of 1861, the United States, with Chili, Peru, and the other republics of central America, alone furnished to the same fund 4,500,000 dollars. Such piles of hard silver assuredly refute the arguments of those who would prove the present "poverty and hard straits" to which the

* See page 71, vol. i.

Apostolic throne is reduced ; we grant, however, that the partisans of the pope grow silent when questioned on the application of these revenues, for are they not employed in the greater part for any but canonical objects ? These vast treasures are expended in paying the brigands and ruffians by whom southern Italy is infested ; they are expended in creating obstacles in the way of King Victor Emanuel, who would unite Italy as a great, free, and peaceably governed country ; in supporting the cause of the king of Naples, driven from his throne by subjects wearied of his despotism and barbarity ; and in the endeavour to resuscitate the middle ages with all their monstrous abuses and anomalies, and to replunge the world into the darkness, ignorance, and degradation which enveloped it four hundred years ago. Under such circumstances we need not wonder that the blind adherents of the papacy so urgently demand the perennial flow of the "Denarius Petri."

Thus the popes, in all their "apostolic poverty," remain the "popes of old ;" nor less so in the exemplification of "apostolic humility." Since 1814, when Pius VII. was again recognised as Christ's vicegerent, all his own and his successor's efforts were directed to the reconstruction of the ancient authority of the Pontifex Maximus, and to make Rome the central point, the pivot of the Catholic world. The task was assuredly a mighty one, for its success demanded the re-establishment in men's minds of that faith in the apostolic sanctity of St. Peter's representatives, so completely swept away by the French revolution ; or, in other words, that they should think and believe but as their forefathers

had thought and believed four or five hundred years ago. Certainly a mighty task ; rather, a superhuman, or even an unattainable one. Still the popes lost not courage ; they recalled the great examples of those who had once occupied their throne, and made facts of things impossible. The claims of humanity, honour, or honesty could necessarily find no great recognition in such achievements ; but this had mattered little when the end were but obtained. Pius VII. was faithful to the old traditions, and made it one of his first duties to recall an order into life which for many years had proved a chief support of the papacy. The Order of the Jesuits had been abolished by Clement XIV., in 1773, "throughout every country of Christendom as generally noxious and offensive to Christianity ;" but Pius VII. felt that only by its aid, by the aid of men the chief, most relentless opponents of enlightenment, men who would hesitate at no falsehood, no perjury, no crime, if they might thus gain their object ; he felt that only through them could the apostolic throne be made secure again ; and he, therefore, called the order once more into activity by his Bull of the 7th of August, 1814.*

* Under Clement XIV. the Jesuits were treated even by the papal party as a veritable devil's brood (*Teufelsbrut*), whom it was necessary to destroy in the interests of self-preservation ; Pius VII. was, however, a devoted admirer of the "society ;" and in his Bull for its reconstruction lauded not only Jesuit "learning," but Jesuit "morality and piety," two qualities which assuredly had not till then been discovered. He deferred to the unanimous desire of all sovereign princes, and of the whole Catholic world to see the order reinstated, and declared that the *vox populi* is even the *vox Dei*. At the close, however, he permitted the true reason of his thus conjuring the "black horde" from the grave, to be perceived:—"We should be guilty of a heavy offence against God if we

It was not in 1814 that Pius VII. first so thought; ten years previously he had established the Society of Jesus in the island of Sicily, with the approval of the bigoted King Ferdinand of Naples, who had sought refuge there from his rebellious subjects on the mainland, and Pius immediately afterwards, though in secret, applied to various other Catholic sovereigns to ascertain if they would, or would not, agree to the revival of the forbidden order. It thus happened that the step ventured on by the pope on this famous 7th of August excited not only little surprise, but the children of Loyola found even a favourable welcome in very many European countries immediately on their formal reincorporation. By their wealth (preserved from earlier times), by their political cunning, by their recklessness in the means they employed, they soon regained the power and influence they possessed at the date their order had been forcibly annulled; and there is now no country, either in the old or the new world, where, either openly or secretly, with or without the sanction of the government, they have not fixed themselves, so that, within a few years they have again grown all-powerful once more. Every where, even in those lands where the majority of the population was Protestant, they had

scorned and rejected the aid of these experienced and able pilots, who offer themselves for the guidance of St. Peter's bark through the stormy waves which threaten shipwreck and death every moment; and we therefore decree, in the plenitude of our papal authority, that this Bull, both within our own and every other European land, shall be duly respected, and neither subjected to the judgment nor revision of any judicial authority under penalty of the wrath of the Most High and of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul."

and have no little influence, both through their public missions and their secret emissaries, by whose aid the theatrical eloquence cultivated by the society is brought to bear on the masses. In wholly Catholic countries they were and are personages of the greatest importance,* through their assumption of alone possessing the secret by which the revolutionary element can be kept down. Thus grand were the results of the step taken by Pius VII., on the 7th of August, 1814.

Still was the Holy Father unsatisfied, and having succeeded with his Jesuit movement, at once applied himself to a resuscitation of the Inquisition. The Inquisition had furnished, as we have seen in an earlier chapter, one of the chief props of the papal power, wherefore, then,

* After the dissolution of their Order in 1773, the Jesuits had continued, under lay designations, to maintain their corporate existence intact, and succeeded, moreover, in preserving the greater part of their vast wealth from confiscation. On their re-establishment by the pope, they immediately received the recognition of the king of Naples, the duke of Modena, the king of Sardinia, and of the other Italian princes. Twelve months later, May 29th, 1815, King Ferdinand of Spain restored all the property and privileges of which they had been deprived in 1767, whilst within the same period they obtained official acknowledgment both in Bavaria and Austria, under the title of Redemptorists. They gained a footing no less firm in Switzerland and Belgium, where they contrived to secure the direction of popular education. Even in France, though excluded by law, they yet obtained toleration. But they chiefly spread themselves throughout the United States, where a number of educational establishments were founded by their care, and we need not say they became naturalized in the various states constituting the southern half of the new world. They were naturally excluded from Protestant lands, yet this was so but nominally, for they gained admission under various other titles to well nigh every Court, whilst they carried the propaganda among the people by the notorious "missions," which have offered so much to the comments of the periodical press of late years.

should he neglect its services. In the states of the Church, his new inspiration was easily realised and set in practice, for there the pope was not only chief priest, but king. In August, 1814, a general inquisitor was appointed, and the noble institution constituted as the supreme judicial tribunal, under the title of the "Holy Office." Its spies soon spread throughout the land, penetrated every family circle; and all who gave the slightest cause for suspicion were at once seized and thrown into the dungeons of the sacred tribunal. The offences under its cognizance were specified (somewhat unnecessarily). They were—"blasphemy, immorality, disrespectful conduct towards the Church, non-participation in its festivals, neglect of its fasts, and especially abandonment of the true faith." A general edict of the 4th of May, 1829, set forth that all persons possessing books of an heretical character, or by writers of known heretical tendencies, whether the said books were kept in their own or other persons' domiciles, should be "dealt with as those who had fallen from the faith;" from this instance, we may sufficiently conceive the wide field left to the discretion of the inquisitors. We learn by the same edict that any person "who should give cause of offence by act or word, or 'threaten so doing,' to any of the familiars, witnesses, accusers, or spies of the Inquisition," should thereby come within its jurisdiction; and the pope directed positively all his *sbirri*, gendarmes, and public employés, to assist the servants of the Holy Office in securing such offenders. To fill up the measure of horrors, Pope Pius VIII. further decreed that whosoever overheard a word of blame

uttered against the Holy Office, or, still more, whosoever witnessed an offence against its judicial authority without at once denouncing that which he had heard or seen, should thereby become amenable to the same penalty as though guilty of the original offence. In short, the Inquisition of modern times was the same dread institution which, a few centuries back, spread terror and desolation throughout Spain and the southern provinces of France.*

But, as it is our duty to relate the truth without reserve or exaggeration, we are bound to record a certain distinction, though but a solitary one. For fear of too seriously awaking the wrath of outraged humanity or provoking the intervention of the European powers, the Inquisition forebore to erect its stakes and faggots as of old, but only employed, as we learn by a regulation dating from 1856, "excommunication, confiscation, ba-

* The secret spies and agents of the Inquisition were especial cause of terror to the subjects of the pope, for in no social or family circle could impunity be insured, but that one of the number was present to listen for the first incautious word, and denounce the speaker. Their members were recruited from every grade of rank and social position, from the highest and the lowest alike,—women forming no inconsiderable proportion of the whole! Strict secrecy was maintained regarding the names of these vile tools of tyranny, from the universal hatred and detestation with which they were regarded. But the very infamy of their trade brought peculiar privileges, besides the liberal salary accruing from it. Like priests, the spies were exempted from the jurisdiction of the civil courts, so that if taken in the act of committing the most flagrant crime, the grand inquisitor could demand the person of his agent, and, under pretence of judging the case himself, at once set him at liberty by a free pardon. That he employed this power we may well believe, or his instruments would have soon grown disgusted with their occupation.

nishment, imprisonment for life, especially with application of the lash and secret execution in heinous cases." In this wise, the Inquisition has flourished in the pontifical states; and, up to the present time, its activity has never for a moment slept in those provinces still subject to the apostolic throne.

Though the popes were successful in setting up again the worst terrors of a past age within their own territories by means of this institution, despite all their efforts, they have failed to obtain its introduction into other European countries. Everywhere, in France, Germany, Portugal, the Holy Father's applications were rejected; even the Italian princes resisted, at least for some time. Only Ferdinand VII. of Spain, the most bigoted of bigots, obeyed the behest of Rome at once, anno 1814, appointed an Inquisitorial Junta, and established the Holy Office in all its ancient glory. But even under such auspices it could not exist, and was formally dissolved by the Cortes in 1820; re-established by the reactionary party in 1826;—it was finally,—we will hope for ever,—abolished in 1835. Whilst Spain, to the sore tribulation of Gregory XVI., shook off the degrading bondage, His Holiness had the satisfaction of inaugurating it in Sardinia, Modena, and Tuscany, where the tribunal was invested with the same powers as in the states of the Church. This was a great triumph for heaven's vicegerent, but the triumph was short-lived: Sardinia awoke to a clearer understanding of moral obligations, and, in 1847, drove out the inquisitors, and confiscated the entire possessions of the tribunal. The moment of deliverance for Modena and

Tuscany came later ; for, in the latter state, the Madiai, husband and wife, in 1852, were condemned to the galleys by the grand inquisitor for their conversion to Protestantism. With 1859, however, the dungeons of the Holy Office were at last thrown open, the inquisitors took flight, and their tribunal definitely closed. Thus, with the exception of Rome, the Inquisition exists no longer in any corner of the world ; but, for this, we have assuredly no cause of gratitude to the popes ; had their wishes triumphed, its fires would still blaze bright throughout Christendom in the cause of orthodoxy.

As the fiat for the re-establishment of the Inquisition nowhere found obedience, the popes sought other means of making good their intrenchments against the attacks of the spirit of enlightenment, too well perceiving that the very existence of the papacy was incompatible with it.

They asked themselves : whence came these new ideas, and, more than all, whence came this heresy, "this desire men exhibited to repudiate the papacy," and they knew there was but one answer : "From no other source than the sacred Scriptures, the 'Word of God,' as the heretics entitle them." Then in the "Word" lay the great danger, for whoso studieth the Word must perforce have his heart turned from the whole system of the Roman hierarchy. It behoved them, therefore, to forbid the dissemination of the "Sacred Word" and emulate Pope Innocent III., who, in flagrant contradiction with the ancient doctors of theology, declared, "That the Holy Scriptures were an incomprehensible

book even for learned men," or the further example of Innocent IV., whose decree, published in 1244, proclaimed: "All translations of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue of any country should be given to the flames." From this, the deduction was, of course, inevitable: that the perusal of the Bible must lead to heresy, as the reader would either wholly misunderstand, or not understand it all, and therefore it was a crime for a good Catholic to have a Bible in his house in the language of his country. In pursuance of this idea, Pius VII. published a brief on the 20th of June, 1816, addressed to the archbishop of Gnesen, in which he emphatically declared the Bibles translated by heretics as "forbidden," and denounced the distribution of bibles (by the Bible Society) in the most unmeasured terms,* whilst he warned every Catholic, under pain of excommunication, never, under any circumstances, to employ such a bible. Again, in pursuance of this idea, Leo XII. issued an encyclical letter to Catholic prelates on commencing his pontificate (May 3rd, 1824), in which he declared the bible distributed by the "Bible Society" as nothing other than a monstrous fabrication, or rather, "Gospel of the Devil," and that it was consequently the first duty of a bishop to warn his flock from these pestilent inventions. In pursuance of this idea, Pius VIII.

* In his wrath, the pope went so far as to declare that the English Bible Society was a "contrivance of wicked cunning, which would undermine the very foundations of religion, a pestilence for humanity, a foul blot on faith, a soul-imperilling institution, a new kind of weed sown by the great enemy," &c., &c. From these excited words, the reader will perceive how menacing to the papacy the enlightenment proceeding from the Bible appeared.

and Gregory XVI. even ordained that "these pestilential books should be given to the flames;" and finally, Pius IX., in his allocution to the cardinals in 1860, declared the French and other vernacular bibles perversions of God's word and manifestly spurious. "Away with the Scriptures" was the motto of the papacy, and inevitably so, for the atmosphere of freedom breathing from their pages threatened to scatter into space the fragments of the dry mummy of Sacerdotium; therefore, woe to the bishop who should offer any resistance to the artificial darkness, the same fate would attend him from which the noble Wessenberg suffered in 1827, when excommunicated for his services in the cause of the Bible.

Notwithstanding all this energy, the prohibition of the Bible did not work satisfactorily. The more the dreadful book was made the subject of warning and denunciation from the confessional, the pulpit, and the orthodox press, the more eager grew the people to get it into their hands, and another panacea grew requisite to keep the papacy from utter collapse. But in what was this panacea to consist. "No herb groweth that will cure death" (Für den Tod ist kein Kräutlein gewachsen), says an old proverb, and the papacy already, at the close of the eighteenth century, was stricken well nigh unto death; was so enfeebled by age and utterly abject that its last hour seemed, indeed, close at hand. Where, then, was this herb to be discovered, which, as a young Bathsheba, should restore the aged David—the tottering pope dotard to new vitality. Long and wearily did the Romanists ponder on this hard problem. They found

no help, no answer but that the popes had grown old, or rather, that they remained what they had ever been, whilst the world around them was all changed and vigorous with new youth.

The people—the masses—neither respected church nor papacy (no wonder, indeed, when the guardian monks were absent); the ban and interdict had lost their terrors; princes and rulers, enriched by the secularisation of vast tracks of land once forming episcopal and monastic endowments, now claimed a voice in the disposition of bishoprics and clerical charges, of which the pope had had the sole bestowal, thus robbing the Holy Father of his royal prerogatives; the very secular clergy became inoculated with modern ideas, no longer obeying every beck as of old; it had even come to pass that they openly resisted certain ordinances of the Roman curia, and found support in their resistance from their temporal rulers. All this it was necessary to change, if the papacy were to stand. The priesthood must be again made docile, the influence of the temporal powers over ecclesiastical appointments and the clergy cease, and the religious views of a bygone age revived, that men might bow down in the dust before the Vice-God at Rome. This was the glorious goal; but how could it be attained? Simply, through the concordate. What is a Concordate? Our readers have seen the word so often in newspapers, heard it so often in conversation and argument, that it may seem superfluous to let its explanation detain us; but as, perhaps, a vague conception merely of its full import exists in

the minds of some who may open these pages, we must grant a few moments for its explanation.

Literally, a Concordate signifies "a treaty, or mutual bond of peace and amity," from the Latin word *concordia*; but, historically, it exhibits a very different character; a Concordate is, then, a treaty between a temporal sovereign and the head of the Roman church, for the determination and settlement of ecclesiastical questions. The first concordate of which we have any record was that made by Calixtus II.* with Kaiser Henry V., in 1122, for the settlement of the dispute concerning episcopal investiture; and in the following centuries many similar concordates were concluded. They were always regarded in somewhat as an amicable arrangement entered into by two antagonistic powers: in some instances the papal, in others the temporal, or worldly side, obtaining the chief advantage from the arrangement. In illustration we may cite the concordate between Pope Martin V. and Kaiser Sigismund I. in 1418, the Vienna Concordate of 1447, that between Francis I. of France and Leo X., 1516, that between Pius VII., in 1801, and Buonaparte as First Consul. In all the pope appears as the recognised supreme head of the church, and the temporal contracting power as the supreme head of the state concerned. In external character one concordate precisely resembled another; but in their purpose there was great diversity; the pope was often obliged to resign certain prerogatives in one country, and therefore sought to make them good by additional

* See vol. i., p. 230.

privileges in another where the government was more tractable. Such is a brief history of the concordate; but, brief as it is, the reader may observe, none of these sacerdotal treaties were ever framed but for the purpose of more satisfactorily determining the rights accruing to the head of the Catholic church.

Every temporal sovereign, therefore, who becomes party to a concordate, by renouncing all power in ecclesiastical affairs, or retaining only so much as the said treaty specifies, admits the pope into his dominions not only as co-regent, but as an independent rival potentate.

The assumed object of a concordate occasionally takes another aspect. When one is under discussion, the freedom and independence of the church is, according to Rome, the sole end contemplated; she declares:—"We Catholics demand nothing but self-government for our religious and ecclesiastical interests, and they who refuse us this violate our consciences." Such is the language of the Romanists; and many are the dupes such and the like plausible phrases have made; but we would merely ask, in reply, with whom in the Catholic church rests the management of ecclesiastical affairs? With the general body of the faithful, or with the pope as its head? The answer is concise enough:—"the pope alone is endowed with this right, and Catholics, like good subjects, must obey." When, therefore, religious self-government is demanded for the Catholic church of any country, it is that this government may devolve on the pope, or, in other words, "that the pope and the hierarchy devoted to him may there exercise despotic autho-

city." The "freedom and independence of the Church is made a mere euphuism for the papal imperium. Indeed, in no concordate is there any question of "faith, or ritual observances:" the sole purpose is, to determine to whom the patronage of the higher sacerdotal dignities belongs, whether to the pope, or the temporal sovereign? to whom appertains the appointment of the lower clergy: to the bishop or the state authorities? whether the state shall have a consultative voice in the event of the pope founding within the country any new religious institution, or reviving one fallen into desuetude; if it is authorised to interfere on the pope's directing his employés, the clergy, to conduct the religious instruction of the people in this or that manner, or exercise the like right on his subjecting a subject of the crown, irrespective of the immediate cause, to any ecclesiastical penalty." The purpose proposed by the popes in these treaties is thus clearly manifest. They sought nothing less than to make good their position in the state as an independent power, served by its own army of officials (the clergy), and whose decrees should be as binding as those of the national government.

Such, indeed, is the character of all papal concordates; how, then, is it, that temporal sovereigns still entered into them? They must have been aware that in doing so they abandoned certain prerogatives properly belonging to their office, and, in self-interest, ought to have rejected all overtures of the kind. They must have been aware that for the regulation of the internal religious affairs of a realm, it was not requisite to invoke the assistance of a "foreign" power notoriously intent

only on self-aggrandisement. The fact was patent, and yet we find in nearly every European country the popes attained their end. The Jesuits, with all their tact, were at hand to guide the necessary negotiations, and by the Jesuits was the triumph secured. Most easily, indeed, in wholly Catholic countries, especially when these were under a pure monarchical absolutism, such, for instance, as Austria, Naples, Modena, Tuscany, Sardinia, &c., &c., for papal and monarchical despotism generally go hand-in-hand. Moreover, might it not be hoped that the foul fiend of democratic enlightenment would get effectually exorcised by an all-powerful sacerdotium? Greater difficulty was met with in those Catholic countries where a parliament could demand a voice in the matter ; as we find exemplified in France, when the concordate, made between Louis XVIII. and Pius VII., in 1817, was modified in various points on account of the popular indignation it excited, though the pope still profited enough by the transaction, for he was empowered to create eighteen new episcopal sees, retaining, of course, the right of presentation to them. The concordate concluded between the same pontiff and Ferdinand of Spain was subjected to still more important modifications, and after successive amendments, imposed by the Cortes, finally came into activity in 1845. A like fate attended the concordate with Portugal ; whilst only in 1847 did Russia consent to enter into one for the kingdom of Poland. The kingdom of Bavaria proved far more docile, for there a highly satisfactory arrangement for Rome was effected as early as 1817. In the Catholic cantons of Switzerland still more devout submission was

exhibited; for the cantons, on the fall of Napoleon, regained their political independence only to sink under the degrading thralldom of Rome. But not Catholic states alone entered into these treaties with the popes; others, where the Protestant element greatly predominated, proved not less tractable, as did Prussia in 1821, Hanover 1824, &c., &c. In short, the popes so prevailed by their able representatives, who left no means untried, whether of fair words, bribery, gallantry (Catholic mistresses played no unimportant part in the negotiations) until, in the end, but few countries in Christendom remained free from a concordate, and, moreover, of a very effective kind. There seemed even a hope that those few lands (Protestant Switzerland alone, perhaps, excepted,) would yield, and, with such a triumph secured, the papacy would have been again as firmly established as before the Reformation.

Does the reader, growing perhaps sceptical, demand how it is we attribute so much importance to these concordates? But it is only requisite to observe somewhat attentively the internal condition of a country in which such a treaty is in operation to be at once convinced our assertions are justified. The first result of such a treaty was, in every case, the restoration of the monastic establishments abolished at the time of the French revolution, and the rapidity with which monks and nuns sprang up to fill them might well have appeared miraculous. Some few of the contracting states had strictly fixed the future number of the new institutions to be erected; but in the majority, free scope was allowed to the "craving of humanity for the cloister," or rather to the mediæval ten-

dencies of the pope and his hierarchy; and even in the former case, Rome found means for cultivating the serge gowns to a high degree of perfection. For were not those new institutions founded, which, though differing in form, were alike in principle with the earlier monastic orders,—institutions which, presenting themselves under names of such touching simplicity, one might well fear being regarded as a barbarian on refusing to give them the welcome they so meekly craved. We would remind the reader of the “fraternities” and “sisterhoods of Charity,”* whose members, though under no monastic vows, yet form a redoubtable corps in the great papal gendarmerie.

Their statutes authorise a return to secular life at any moment, for are not the communities “free!” but the moral compulsion exercised by the constitution of the

* The Brothers of Charity were originally a French Order. (In Italy, they are called “Fate ben Fratelli.”) They were originated in 1540, by Johannes di Dio, as a lay society for the care of sick persons. In 1572, Pope Gregory XIII. constituted them into an organized mendicant order, under the rules of St. Augustine. It extended its ramifications over Europe with surprising rapidity, numbering in 1585 no less than 224 monasteries. In 1634, the celebrated Frenchman, Vincent de Paul, conceived the idea of adding “sisters” to the original order, and with the aid of a pious widow, Madame Legras, he called into existence, for the mitigation of human suffering, the free communities known as Filles de la Charité, or Sœur Grises, from their grey robe. The popes naturally granted their full sanction to the new order, and Clement IX. accorded to it, in 1655, the same rights as those enjoyed by the Frères de la Charité. The French revolution brought the complete dissolution of both branches of the Order, then widely spread throughout Europe; but in 1807, it was re-established in France, and five years later in Germany. From thenceforth, however, it no longer bore a monastic character, becoming “a free society for attendance on the sick in the great hospitals” and the education of the poor.

order and still more by the initiatory vows (the novice swearing to devote his or her future life wholly to the service of God, by tending the sick and needy), renders this privilege a mere illusion. The "brothers" and "sisters" are, to all intents, really monks and nuns. They have greatly increased, especially in France and Austria,* within the last thirty years. The devoted tools of the Jesuits, they pursue their office of sick nurses and teachers as a contrivance to disarm opposition and secure a wider field of operation. In this purpose, they have completely succeeded; there is scarcely a country in Europe where branch institutions have not been established, and, from reliable returns, we find that the Order contains not less than 80,000 active members;† we may thence conclude how great must be their influence over the lower classes, with whom, almost alone, they come in contact.

* We would beg the reader to consult the various details contained in the public prints (Viennese), for 1859-60 regarding the Sisters of Charity in the Wiedener Hospital, at Vienna, from the official reports published by the Austrian government, subsequent to the investigations ordered by it; they will dissipate any doubts on the real tendency of this society.

† The hospital of St. Lazare, in Paris, represents the chief seat of the Order whence the various regulations for the branch establishments originate; there are 300 of the latter in Paris, 831 throughout the French provinces, in Belgium 301; Spain numbers 179; Germany, 98; the Netherlands, 75; Sardinia, 67; United States, 51; Ireland, 42; the kingdom of Naples, 27; Switzerland, 11; the states of the Church, 26; making in all, 2,008, whilst those in Tuscany, Modena, Hungary, Bohemia, and Portugal, in the absence of precise returns, are quite omitted in the computation. Granting that each branch establishment numbers, at the minimum, forty active members, the total will amount to 80,320, and if to this were added an average proportion for the countries omitted, it would rise to not less than 100,000.

Moreover, the Benedictines,—Dominicans, Carmelites, Augustines, and the Franciscans and Capuchins, especially called into life again by Pius VII., increased not less rapidly than the Brothers and Sisters of Charity. The pope feeling that the so-called learned orders would be of small service, or even prove injurious to his cause, gave every care to the extension of his light infantry corps,—the mendicant friars, who, since their first incorporation by Innocent III., had stood the papacy in such good stead. These men, who ate from the same platter with the peasant, and kept all the female consciences in their respective districts, were now to form the pope's standing army, and gain greater triumphs for him than were ever won by the best disciplined troops for a mere temporal sovereign. Throughout France, Spain, Austria, Naples, Tuscany, Modena, Portugal, Bavaria, Ireland, the houses of the begging fraternities arose once more in all their former glory; and in some places, especially in Tyrol and Bavaria, it was scarcely possible to walk ten paces without meeting one of the brown-frocked fraternity. In those countries where Protestantism formed the dominant creed, as in England and Prussia, the Roman high priest none the less laboured to restore those mediæval institutions in them to vitality, much to the wonder of all thinking men. If to all these achievements we add the re-establishment of that far more terrible Order, of which we have already spoken,—the Jesuits, who, as Ligurians or Redemptorists, penetrated where, as Jesuits, they could not have found entrance, it will be evident that the popes have raised their influence to a marvellous height in the brief period since

its resurrection in 1814. All this was still insufficient, but the Pontifex Maximus knew well how to avail himself of the further concession secured by the Concordate—that, namely, by which he had appropriated the right of appointing all bishops and archbishops, for he bestowed the pallium or episcopal mitre on none but those in whom he could place complete reliance. The task of finding safe candidates among the higher ranks of the priesthood was no difficult one, so attractive were the prizes offered; but it would seem a far more onerous matter to bring the great mass of the lower clergy into devotion to the papal interests. Rectors and curés found themselves far better off when under the protection of the state than if wholly dependant on the head of the Church and the ecclesiastical dignitaries appointed by him. When, moreover, Pius VII.'s first concordate was signed, the humbler ranks of the hierarchy throughout central Europe, and France and Germany especially, had become infected with the liberal ideas represented by a Dalberg, a Messenberg, and others of their class; and it could not be ignored at Rome that whilst “such” men occupied the pulpit, and conducted the religious instruction of the people, the papacy would take no firm root again. The “horrible” French revolution, the still more horrible pest of enlightenment, had reacted on the very priesthood of the Catholic Church! Aye! and there were even men within it, however dreadful the admission, who publicly asserted it would be far more salutary for the Church in each country to be subjected to a local jurisdiction instead of receiving its canons from Rome.

Of what avail was it that the bishops had secured the right of appointing their diocesan clergy when the whole body was monstrously anti-papal. With the present generation, clearly nothing could be done; they were, and must remain inoculated with the venom of enlightenment. But how stood it with the future generation, the candidates of theology in the seminaries and universities, from whom the succeeding rectors and curés must be supplied, were they not susceptible of influence? Too young to possess any very firm principles, might they not be so educated that the Holy Father should become the cynosure of their devotion? The idea was surely excellent, and the pope at once took steps for its realisation. By the concordates, he had obtained the right of supervising public educational institutions, and watching that no evil spirit found entrance therein. What was then easier than to decree, for every Roman Catholic college, for every seminary and gymnasium, the immediate dismissal of those professors whose ideas were not quite according to the papal standard, and fill the vacated posts with Jesuits, or Jesuit admirers. Such a scheme could not be immediately effected—governments and people might have taken alarm; the work demanded tact and caution; but Rome was not built in a day, and that which could not be achieved between a dawn and sunset might still be accomplished within the next: so the plan of appointing only such preceptors for the young priest who would work according to the views of the papacy and obscurantism was rigorously carried out; and within a few decades, the partisans of Rome might proudly assert

that in no high school, gymnasium, or university, of any concordate land was there a single professor appointed who could act in opposition to their will, although the new preceptors were sometimes objects of ridicule to the world, both for their ignorance and boorishness.* The instruction in the physical sciences, German literature, still more in general history, was given on a plan wholly inadequate to the demands of modern advancement in science and critical knowledge; but what of that? if the so-long-yearned-for goal were reached, and the young priest wholly imbued with a devout belief in the pope and papal supremacy, by renouncing the use of his own reason exalted the dogma of the sole, saving Church.

Thus having made sure not only of bishops and archbishops, but of the priests and deacons, it was at length possible to act upon the people, and indoctrinate them with the spirit, by which alone the papacy can be sure of existence. "Let thought be abolished, for only when the masses are steeped in stupidity can they be governed."

* It was customary in many concordate states for the Jesuits to appoint persons to professorships without any previous examination, so we may conclude how grossly unsuitable many of the appointments would be. It thus happened that at a well-known university the professor of the ancient languages, from the secular character of his duties, had enjoyed a liberal education, and venturing on one occasion to cite the poet Goëthe's style as an example of artistic perfection, was therefore denounced by his Jesuit superiors as a heretic to the diocesan bishop; one of the said fathers characterising the author of "Faust" as a "worthless, vile fellow" (Schlechten Kerl and Saumagen). Such language is a fully sufficient indication of the intellectual standard prescribed by the members of the "society," without any other examples.

Such has been the language of the younger clergy since then, and they have found the most energetic support from the monks and nuns. Secular clergy and monastic fraternities emulated each other in their labours for the papal objects with the lower classes, and soon succeeded in persuading their penitents that Catholicism and the papacy are one and the same thing.

Woe, then, to him who attacked the assumptions of the bishop of Rome; woe to him who laid an irreverent finger on the papal system; but more than all—woe to those who dared deem the temporal power of the Roman high priest unnecessary to mankind,—they were summarily denounced as men bent on the destruction of the faith itself. Just as the country schoolmasters were the mere thralls and bondmen of the local priesthood, to whom they owed unconditional obedience, so were the preceptors of a higher grade impressed with the subjection owed by them to their bishop. They were even made to feel the curb more sharply than their humbler colleagues, for their position was of more moment to the great end: “the suppression of every spark of free inquiry or scientific research in the rising generation,” so that, in after years, it might labour—*ad majorem dei gloriam*—for the papacy and the Jesuits. Assuredly the atheist, the denier of God, was far more worthy heaven in the eyes of these blind fanatics than he who ventured to give an incredulous smile to the mad pretensions of this papal incubus.

Hand in hand with the dissemination of this belief went the spread of superstition. In moral teaching, or Christian discourses, it was not in such things the

younger clergy held religion to be forwarded, but in attendance at mass, bead telling, invocation of the saints, pilgrimages, processions,—in outward ceremonial merely, which made thought superfluous. At the same time, we can readily understand the perusal, or even the possession of a Bible in the vernacular, was not only stringently forbidden, but even treated as a crime; a species of literature was invented and distributed, in great part gratis, which, though replete with the most ridiculous absurdities, was yet well calculated to fill the people with enthusiasm for the papacy and priesthood.* In short, every possible means were tried to suppress the intellectual activity which had begun to stir in men's brains during the first years of the century, as though it were amenable to such laws, and, together with the faithfully orthodox, could be transferred back to the middle ages.

Ways and means of working on the people to this effect were not wanting; the church and the confessional supplied them; whilst, moreover, the curés, the friars, and the Jesuits made their way into every house, into every family, and thus privately gained over the men, and still more completely the women, brought under their influence. The chief reliance was, however, found in the public schools, those especially which the children of the poorer classes attended. The Jesuits well knew that feelings implanted in youth can rarely

* If the reader has a taste or liking for such literature, he need but visit a (continental) place of pilgrimage, the Einsiedeln monastery in Switzerland, for example, to obtain dozens of such invaluable pamphlets at the cost of a few pence.

be eradicated afterwards ; they, therefore, studiously endeavoured in every concordate land to implant the deepest reverence for the papacy in the minds of the children. With secular knowledge, or its simplest rudiments, they in no manner concerned themselves ; they would have prevented their charges, if possible, acquiring a habit of thought, and to this end they directed the country clergy to keep a strict surveillance over the schoolmasters, lest they exceeded their duties, and taught things unsuited to the youthful mind. Arithmetic, geography, natural history, vanity of vanities ! Of what use for man's salvation is geography and natural history ? To recite the rosary and know the credos well by heart, were of far more service ! Therefore, no foolish worldly conceits, but plenty of pious matter learnt by rote, especially religious legends, &c. ; all else was purely superfluous ; or, at the most, reading and writing might be tolerated.

So were the schools conducted in all concordate states ; and we thus find that, after a dozen years of such sacerdotal management in France, Austria, Bavaria, Spain, not to speak of Italy, the temporal authorities unanimously complained seventy or eighty per cent. of the population could scarce read or write, and that in many localities the ignorance, stultification (*Verdummung*), and superstition prevalent, had attained a depth scarce conceivable in the nineteenth century.

Even this was insufficient, and the higher dignitaries of the church laboured to extend the same "godly" system for the benefit of the more educated classes. They, therefore, made it an indispensable condition in

these favoured lands that the preceptors at gymnasiums, middle schools, &c., should have been baptised and educated as an orthodox Catholic. The government authorities well knowing that many branches of learning cultivated in such institutions, such as geometry, physics, natural history, philology, had no connection with theologic dogma, would have often appointed Protestants distinguished for singular attainments in any of these studies, but the higher clergy declared, in obedience to papal command, that it could not be suffered, or disorder would ensue to the whole educational system. Certain zealots even prophesied that such acts on the part of the government must bring about the end of the world, and positively demanded an exclusively confessional (*i.e.*, Roman Catholic) basis in all educational appointments. The temporal authorities yielded in nearly every instance, perhaps for the sake of peace, or conscious that having given up one point there was no alternative but to abandon the second also; and it thus came to pass that the middle schools and gymnasiums in well nigh every concordate land, retrograded into much the same status they had held in the middle ages. "It sufficeth, said the Jesuits, if the lads imbibe enough Latin for the mass, and learn the 'Te Deum laudamus' and 'Gloria in Excelsis' well by rote." In pursuance of this system, every professor, though of undoubted orthodoxy, was carefully watched, and many of the number had to wait on their diocesan for instructions in the composition of their lectures.*

* Professors of the physical sciences found themselves in a singularly embarrassing position, forbidden as they were to state anything at vari-

Under such conditions, is it strange if, in the concordate states, the so-called educated classes possessed but a mere superficial varnish of instruction, were without energy, moral elevation,—even without religion, for the ceremonial worship enjoined on them assuredly did not deserve the name; whilst the mass of the people throughout the rural districts were indolent, drunken, and very, very degraded. But if such were the evil consequences of their educational system, the Romanists heeded it not; they had this advantage, such men would little concern themselves for papal assumptions, still less question their right. Yet were the popes unsatisfied with even this victory; they were bent on renewing the old contest with those who had abandoned their fold. From time immemorial their watch word had been; “Extirpation of heresy;” that throughout Christendom but one church should exist, with the pope as its supreme arbiter.

With such advantages gained over the Protestants as

ance with the text of the Old Testament. For them, therefore, the earth was but 6,000 years old, the sun stood still for Joshua, Balaam’s ass spoke, &c., &c. The professors of history were, perhaps, in a yet worse dilemma; they were compelled to use actual falsification; it would have been an abomination in the eyes of a pope to teach the crude truth concerning certain religious and political revolutions. In political history, indeed, the preceptors of youth dared on no consideration keep to mere facts; for example, they must represent William Tell as the chief of a band of rebels, the Emperor Napoleon a general under the Bourbons, and other “facts” according to a like treatment. Republics existed not for them, nor ever had existed; each was made over to some royal ruler or other, and in referring to the wars between the Guelphs and Ghibbelines, the latter were, of course, vanquished in every field. In short, seminarist history was as widely removed from actual events as the merest romance might be.

those the concordates appeared to secure, should they now prove untrue to that watch word they had so long followed out with fire and sword?

The most conclusive reply was given by Pope Pius VII. in the renewal of the notorious Bull "*In cœna Domini*," to which we have already referred at some length. For fourteen years it had been read from no pulpit, and men might have thought the popes themselves at length acknowledged the Almighty would too much resemble mere bigoted humanity were He to make salvation depend on the observance of certain outward forms, and, for the neglect of these condemn nine-tenths of the inhabitants of earth to everlasting tortures, whilst the favoured tithe entered Heaven. But Pope Pius VII. was little disposed to such latitudinarianism, and, on Maunday Thursday, 1815, solemnly, with his own lips, doomed to everlasting punishment all heretics, Catholics, Jews, Mahometans, all, in short, who were not prepared to worship him the vicegerent of Christ upon earth, in the manner prescribed by the terrible Bull, "*In cœna Domini*." Since then, except in the year 1849, when the pope was a fugitive, no Maunday Thursday has gone by in Rome without the "great heretic excommunication" being celebrated with all imaginable pomp. In this, too, have we not the clearest evidence how the popes of the present age are faithful, as in all else, to the traditionary "Christian charity" of the popes of the past? yet a multitude of other edicts and procedures are not wanting to prove it still more fully. Thus, for instance, Pius VII., on September 13, 1821, fulminated the great anathema against the Car-

bonari, whose liberalism, political and religious, but ill-accorded with the views of a pope : his successor, Leo XII., excommunicated the whole order of the Freemasons, and banished its members for ever from the states of the church. The two last-mentioned pontiffs, with Pius VIII., Gregory XVI., and Pius IX., acted still more harshly towards the Jews, who, to this day, are treated at Rome as lepers—vile outcasts from common humanity. None of the race may reside in any other part of the city than their appointed quarter, the “Ghetto;” and intercourse with Christians is strictly forbidden them. If a Jew is proved guilty of buying or selling anything employed in the celebration of the Catholic worship, the salver, chalice, breviary, rosary, crucifix, &c., he incurs a fine of 200 scudi. Like severity is employed against those who quit Rome without permission from the Holy Inquisition ; whilst death would await the wretch who, on the evidence of two witnesses, was proved to have insulted, either by word or act, the Catholic religion, or one of its ministers. The Jews within the papal territory are beyond the pale of the law, and to this day the command of the Holy Inquisition is in force by which any Christian doctor summoned to a patient in the Jew’s quarter is bound, in the first place, to attempt his conversion ; but if the Jew prove obdurate, then abandon him to his fate without more ado. To fill up the measure of wrong and absurdity, three or four Jewish children are forcibly taken from the Ghetto every Monday in the year to be sprinkled with holy water in a certain church, and so made into Christians. It would be difficult to imagine any-

thing, perhaps, more revolting to every feeling of justice and decency than this last custom,* which even rivals the arbitrary tyranny of the middle ages.

If the popes of the present age act thus towards Jews, we need not anticipate they will show greater favour to Protestant schismatics. Indeed, the reformed faith is far more offensive in the papal estimation than Judaism, or even Mohamedanism, in accordance with the old proverb: "Family feuds and brother-hate gnaw deeper in the heart than the strife of strangers." Therefore, though the Holy Father professes in the first place to gently lead back the strayed ones to the "sole saving church," his second and chief resource (to which he unfailingly recurs if conversion cannot be effected) is, as it will remain, the extirpation of the heretics. The monks are chiefly charged with the conversion of Protestants, but the Jesuits undertake this duty in favour of the higher classes, especially for the petty reigning princes, their consorts, and children; the conversion of the lower orders of society falls almost entirely to the mendicant friars with the brothers and sisters of charity.

The begging monks have free ingress into all penal establishments in countries under a concordate, and em-

* The story of the young Mortara is a case in point. He was, as the reader will remember, the offspring of a wealthy Jewish family, stolen away by the priests during his parents' absence in Modena. The affair made a great noise at the time, but for this reason only, that the Mortaras, as English people, were ill-disposed to submit to the wrong. Their brethren in the Ghetto discreetly hold their peace when their children are taken away; for, firstly, any complaint they know well would be unavailing; and, secondly, the slightest indication of disaffection would bring them into acquaintance with the dungeons of the Inquisition.

ploy the right chiefly to induce those inmates, unfortunately heterodox, to embrace Catholicism, under some delusive promise of a pardon or remission of sentence to be facilitated thereby. They make themselves not less familiar with the orphan asylums than with the prisons, and their efforts are untiring until any of the helpless little charges born of Protestant parents have declared themselves ready for "reconciliation" with the orthodox church. Great is the rejoicing when such a child, though, of course, quite incapable of independent judgment on such a question, has been "wrested from the claws of Satan;" but abroad the missionaries breathe no word of the promises and threats employed to gain this result. Brothers and Sisters of Charity use still more questionable means than their colleagues, the "Mendicants," for the propaganda in the hospitals, when the bodily and mental exhaustion of the patients are alike worked on by their arts to draw forth the consent to a return into the bosom of the church.

Instances without number are but too notorious in which the pious brethren and sisters, emulating the conduct of the Holy Father at Rome towards the Jews, have refused all medical assistance to Protestant sufferers, or otherwise neglected them, until they had promised to abandon their heresy. Thus is proselytism carried out under a concordate; Protestants, too, are liable by its provisions to heavy penalties if guilty of perverting a Catholic from the orthodox creed, or the heinous sin of giving a Protestant Bible to a person baptised in the Roman church.

To fill up the measure of justice, the popes have gene-

rally introduced a clause by which, if Protestant parents adopt Catholicism, their children, if under age, are naturally understood to do so too; whilst if, on the contrary, the parents change from Catholic to Protestant, their offspring must remain of the former faith. Such is the religious tolerance recognised by the popes.

We thus see how Romanism makes its work of proselytising as light as possible; but if, despite the zeal with which it is pursued, the schismatics prove obstinate, all the gentleness exhibited until then is at once thrown aside, and the soft-voiced, mild-eyed ecclesiastics are suddenly changed into avenging demons, intent on the utter eradication of Protestantism. Assuredly the faggots no longer blaze round the stake, for the arm of the temporal power refuses to come in aid to such extreme measures, nor can the popes preach crusades against heresy; but are there, then, no other means of forcing Protestants to forego the open confession of their faith, and even effecting their social ruin?

The chief contrivance to this end is a systematic calumny employed unscrupulously by the popes and their underlings. In districts inhabited both by Catholics and Protestants, pamphlets and tracts are distributed in which Protestant belief is described as an actual renunciation of Christianity and morality, so that good Catholics must shudder at the very sound of the word Protestantism.

The crudest falsehoods, the most shameless misrepresentations, are employed to awaken the horror of true believers for the pestilent heretics; the very children at the village schools are made to cross themselves

when Luther's name is uttered. Luther, Calvin, Zwingle, and all such men, are represented as the incarnate spawn of Satan; and to leave no doubt on the subject, a wood engraving is, perhaps, introduced at the appropriate place, exhibiting Luther or Zwingle roasting in hell, under the superintendence of certain long-tailed devils.*

The second means adopted for the riddance of Protestantism is in the "isolation of its professors." From the time of the Thirty Years' War, Protestants and Catholics lived in the same district† in perfect good neighbourhood and mutual tolerance, or even in mutual friendship and the closest social ties. This was, of course, not universally the case, especially where the Catholic clergy exercised much authority; but in the all-pervading spirit left by the French revolution even

* Our space forbids our entering into any details of these defamatory writings; but we cannot resist citing a few passages from the "Amico del Popolo" (for 1861), a journal published under immediate favour of the papal censorship, and intended, as its name indicates, expressly for the masses. We translate the text literally:—"In what does Protestantism consist?" Answer. "In believing what one pleases, and acting as one believes." Luther's morality is contained in the following maxim: "Sinner, fear nothing, and act as it best pleases thee." "As Satan was once sitting on his throne, Luther appeared before him, knelt down, and cried: 'Thou art my master and my faith.'" "Among all the madmen on earth, is there one more mad than Luther?" Answer. "None." "Luther was persuaded by Satan to abolish the mass; need any one then question if Protestantism is the work of Satan, as it indeed is?" "Did not Luther make the devil his doctor of theology? and are there yet men, even Italians, who are so iniquitous as to give themselves over to Protestantism; *id est*, the devil?" Thus the papal "Friend of the People" for 1861 takes the field against the reformed faith; we may spare any further evidence.

† The author here, of course, refers to Germany.

this last obstacle to the duty of toleration had been, if not abandoned, at least greatly modified, and the best reciprocal understanding existed in the mixed communities. Mohammedanism grants the exercise of their religious rites alike to Christians and Jews, should then the followers of Jesus, who claim a higher standard of morality than these of any other religion, still indulge in mutual rancour because, in certain minor points, they differ in opinion, not necessarily in any important dogma, but merely concerning outward forms and observances. Such was the question men had asked themselves since the beginning of the nineteenth century, and felt humiliated in recalling the religious wars, for life or death, of earlier years. But the popes having recovered from their fall, and achieved the "concordates," a very speedy end approached to this religious concord. "Protestants belonged to a far too-degraded section of humanity," so declared the bishop of Rome, "for Catholics to hold intercourse with them as with equals. As heretics, the Catholic heaven is closed to them; how then can they pretend to any form of equality?"

In accordance with these principles, the orthodox priesthood closed their churches and burial-grounds to the Protestants, and even refused to celebrate mixed marriages. "Mere social intercourse with heretics" was declared "dangerous," for "the air breathed by a heretic is pestiferous." If, in mixed communities, such intercourse cannot be avoided, it must not assume any character of friendship, still less result in that closest of unions—marriage." "The solemnization of mixed

marriages" in concordate states was therefore either positively refused by the priesthood, or when the government had been resolute enough to forbid such a refusal, accordance was only granted under such conditions that a Protestant could scarcely submit to them. A formal agreement had to be entered into, that every child born of the marriage should be educated in the orthodox faith; and in the oral confession required of the Catholic before the ceremony, he or she was made to promise, under terrible menaces of eternal punishment, to employ every possible means for bringing the Protestant helpmate into the bosom of the "sole saving Church." But it was after the ceremony that the chief work began, when the Catholic was persecuted and adjured until the desired conversion was effected, or, as it more frequently happened, all home confidence and happiness completely destroyed between the pair. Not even in death was peace accorded to the detested union. No Catholic priest would allow a Catholic to lie at rest by the side of a Protestant—a pariah of the faith.*

Under such conditions, it was assuredly a heavy trial

* Some few years since (1857), a Catholic (State Councillor Staatsrath) died in Vienna; he had occupied a high social position, and though his wife was a Protestant, the union had been a singularly happy one, for he had permitted no priestly meddling. Wishing to be still unseparated in death, the Staatsrath directed in his will that a space should be left for his wife in the vault made for him. Within two years, she also died, and the executors desired to fulfil the husband's wishes, but the Catholic rector of the parish refused his permission, emphatically declaring that a Protestant could not share the same grave with a Catholic. When such a man is subjected to these regulations, we may well imagine how little regard would be paid to the feelings of the lower classes.

the Protestants underwent in remaining faithful to their belief.

The third panacea against Protestantism is the banishment of its adherents. Since they cannot be murdered, then "drive them forth from the land; away with them, unless they consent to be converted." This remedy is a thoroughly radical one; but it can only be employed where the Protestants form an insignificant minority; for, in the contrary case, it might lead to very unsatisfactory consequences. "Open violence" is (as we have before observed) always avoided, if possible, for it is best not to excite public attention; but there are ways of harrassing individual members of a community that they will at length depart by their own free will, and any compulsion is unnecessary. Among the multitude of examples before us, does the reader, perhaps, recall the method adopted with the people of the Zillerthal in Tyrol? A certain portion of the inhabitants of this lovely valley it is well known, wander far and wide, selling gloves and various other articles of their home manufacture, and they thus cannot avoid frequent contact with Protestants. The consequence followed that some of the number carried the Bible home, and having diligently studied it during the leisure hours of winter, doubts arose in their minds on various points of Catholic dogma, such as papal indulgences, masses for the dead, purgatory, saint worship, &c., &c. They yet made no formal act of cession from the Catholic church, only grew somewhat lax in attendance at mass and the confessional, but the priest soon penetrated the whole truth, and the proceedings adopted in consequence during

1826-27, when the unhappy people found themselves marked for general obloquy as heretics and schismatics, until all peace was utterly destroyed.

The "black dragoons" (Pfaffen), we use the word with regret, but such priests merit no better epithet, so excited all the good Catholics in the valley, that the accused were in danger of being punished under lynch law. Still undaunted, and but the more convinced they possessed the truth, the fiercer rose sacerdotal wrath against them; in 1830, two hundred and forty publicly declared their resolve to renounce Catholicism and enter the Reformed church. They appealed shortly afterwards, 1832, to the Emperor Francis, then at Innsbruck, demanding the protection due to them under the sixteenth article of the German Bund. The emperor, a goodnatured man, promised them their demand, and the heretics of the Zillerthal were supremely happy. But they had reckoned without their host, or, rather, without the priesthood and pope, and the latter (Gregory XVI.) issued a formal protest against the "discord created by the infamous heretics within the Tyrol previously so devoted to the faith," and demanded the expulsion of the offenders. What course did the easy-tempered kaiser adopt? Was it worth while to commence interminable negotiations with Rome for the sake of a few heretics? Assuredly not; so the Zillerthalers were enjoined to secure their immediate reconciliation with the church, or depart to Transylvania, whose inhabitants were of mixed confessions. They naturally hesitated in submitting to either alternative; but the priests so excited the bigotry of the Catholics around, that the persecuted victims were

in danger of having their roofs burnt over their heads. Convinced, at length, there was no other resource but to bargain, as the Saltzburgers had done a hundred years before, they despatched a deputation to the king of Prussia to entreat from him some place of refuge. Their petition was immediately accorded, and, to the great joy of the priests and their orthodox flocks, the Zillerthaler Protestants, with the women and children, numbering three hundred and ninety-nine in all, turned their faces from their much-loved home in August, 1837, and wandered, for conscience sake, to commence a new existence under a northern sky. Need we other illustration of the meaning of the word tolerance as interpreted by the pope and his priesthood?

War! war to the heterodox was the watchword of the church in every country which had entered into a concordate with Rome, until the very word "concordate" (compact of amity) grew the veriest irony. Never will a wearer of the tiara recognise the right of existence to any party which does not bow down to "him," and thus every treaty proposed by the Holy Father can have no other purpose than the subjection of those who have confided in him. Therefore, now and for ever, war, not peace—persecution, not toleration—hate, not love—are the fruits of a concordate wherever Protestants are subjected to its influence, for the coexistence of the papacy with a system of toleration were an impossible paradox.

But the popes go much further in countries where Protestantism has no recognised existence; we find complete religious freedom loudly demanded by the Catho-

lics wherever Protestantism is the state religion, often founding the demand with Jesuitical cunning on the ground of "common humanity." But how does the demand appear if reversed, and the same freedom asked for the reformed doctrines? Then all question of "humanity" is ignored, all sufferance even repudiated. Does the pope permit any Protestant vassal within the states of the church? or in any of the "good Catholic" countries—Spain or Portugal, Mexico, Chili, Peru, Brazil—or does he allow a Protestant church to be built, or a Protestant community organised? Protestantism, as a religion, has "no right to existence;" it is merely a rank, poisonous weed that cannot be tolerated without endangering the safety of all the sound plants. In these "purely" Catholic states, it is therefore, in many instances, prohibited, under the same penalties as robbery and murder. There was only yet left to place a pair of the black-gowned conscience-keepers with the customs' officers at every barrier along the frontiers, to prevent not only the entrance of a Catholic traveller, but even of Protestant ideas. The reader will, doubtless, feel incredulous, but he need only visit one of these favoured lands to find the truth of our assertions. These abuses grow still more monstrous when the government of the country actively espouses the policy of the priesthood, for then a system of repression is established, as though the end of the world were imminent. The truth of our assertions is best exemplified by events actually occurring in Tyrol. The Emperor of Austria, under the pressure of modern ideas, published for the whole em-

pire some months ago,* the so-called "Protestant statute," by which his Protestant subjects were to be secured for the future in the enjoyment of the same religious liberty as the other inhabitants of his dominions. Thus, then, was permission accorded them to settle in Tyrol, organise their religious communities, and even erect their own churches. A monstrous possibility truly; but what did the higher Catholic clergy to avert the abomination? They resolved to make the kaiser retract the offending statute, and, to this end, contrived to bring the whole country into a ferment of excitement. A petition was drawn up, showing "that the existence of Protestantism in Tyrol was an *impossibility*," and the monks carried the petition round to every house and homestead from parish to parish, until it attained to quite incredible proportions, for to have refused signing it would have incurred denunciation as a heretic. Neither threats nor promises, indeed, were spared in obtaining signatures; even school-boys were made to attach their names to swell the list. "The whole land, according to the bishop of Brixen, the trusted friend of the pope's confidant, Cardinal Rauscher, "would rise as one man against the admission of Protestants, in order that the emperor might turn back from the road of perdition on which he had entered." Nor was this enough; the bishop brought forward a motion in the Innsbruck Provincial Chamber to the effect that Protestantism should be for ever "prohibited" within Tyrol, and carried it through in triumph;

* In 1860.

the best proof how oppressively monkish tyranny weighs on the land. But neither the monster petition nor the vote of the Chamber had any effect, for the imperial government paid no regard to either the one or the other ; but if the Romanists failed on this occasion, we are none the less enabled to see their policy in it ; and how, reader, can we believe that the popes and their partisans can ever be “ other ” than that they have ever been ?

No, and again no ! They change not, and will never change (“ Sie sind und bleiben die Altens ! ”

CHAPTER III.

CONCLUSION.

Two hundred and fifty-nine popes have successively occupied St. Peter's chair, irrespective of the numerous anti-popes who contested its honours, yet, in the whole number there have been, how few pious Christians or even honourable and upright men ! The majority were distinguished by an ambition and grasping avarice, in the gratification of which no means were for them too infamous. How many added thereto a licentiousness and demoralization of which the present age affords no example. All, without exception (since the bishops of Rome became popes), exhibited a spirit of persecution and intolerance which sometimes reached to a very climax of insane bloodthirstiness. During a period extending over several centuries, their power over Christendom grew well nigh absolute, then gradually sank again lower and lower, until, like a spent lamp, it seemed to tremble on the verge of extinction. The world believed itself relieved of the incubus, and breathed more freely ; but a little while, and so the flame flickered up once more, growing stronger and more strong until it seemed the very same that had shone athwart the dark

ages. Was it really so? Was it, indeed, the self-same flame which had exhibited the strange property of spreading darkness instead of light, and instead of strength, the chillness of death? Or was it a mere ignis-fatuis suddenly springing up to disappear again for ever? We, for our part, must hope the latter is the true solution, for that the papacy has outlived itself, no man can doubt; and it is time it should meet the fate of all earthly things. If it were reformed, brought into harmony with the spirit of the age, reconciled with the advance of science and enlightenment, then, and then only, could we believe in its lasting vitality. But up to the present moment, and the later popes especially bear out the fact, has not all amelioration for the papacy proved an impossibility? They assuredly could not ignore the mighty progress achieved by humanity within the last seventy years; but what have they done during the same period? Retrograded in a still more marvellous ratio. Engrossed in the endeavour to resuscitate the middle ages—ban and anathema, clerical celibacy, begging monks, the Inquisition, persecution of heretics, all restored, as though 1789 and 1860 had never existed!

Even the present pope, though described as a singularly amicable and gentle-hearted man, is but what his predecessors were; even he has attempted to play the thunder-launching Innocent, and would make the world believe an attack on his temporal power were as deadly a heresy as if directed against the doctrines of the Church itself.

But what will come to pass if the papacy prove inca-

pable of rehabilitation? Will the nations return to the belief, or rather to the superstitions, of the middle ages, as the pope would have them, or will they emancipate themselves from papal thralldom, and cast the whole institution into the sea that flows over all that has been and can be no longer? Assuredly not the first, for so lasting a retrogression were impossible; nor yet the second, perhaps, for why should violence be used against a foe whose death can be calmly awaited? Of what avail, moreover, would it be to enter into a controversy with one predetermined to bate no tittle of his assumed rights? Henceforth it were surely wiser for each Catholic country to quietly enact those religious changes and reforms found necessary, wholly regardless of the Holy Father. His wrath would doubtless be terrible; he might even threaten the end of the world—but the crisis would pass over in complete tranquillity. In such a policy lies the basis of a “national church,” to which every nation must sooner or later have recourse, for has not each the same right to organise its religious as its political institutions, according to its own peculiar requirements? Catholicism, the Catholic doctrines or “dogma,” might still be preserved intact, though such a reform would prove fatal to the papal system and the papacy!

“Folly!—dreams!” will be the answer given to our assertions, and for a time that answer may seem well founded; but is not the dawn of this “indifference for the papacy” already making itself evident, and evident, too, in many lands. Switzerland inaugurated the good work, as we must acknowledge to its honour. For cen-

turies, mutual hatred and rancour, carefully fostered by Rome, and often carried into fanatical excess, divided the Catholic and Protestant sections of the population. At length the federal government, strengthened by the events of 1848, determined to assume the right of regulating the ecclesiastical affairs of the cantons through the deliberations of their representatives, though the pope refused his sanction, and should even threaten the worst thunders of the Church. The work was at once commenced—the Jesuits banished, despite the protests of Rome—a barrier put to sacerdotal pretensions—all religious confessions placed on a footing of equality—and every citizen, irrespective of creed, invested with the like rights and duties. Since then the best understanding has been maintained between the Catholics and Protestants; and every Switzer, whatever his faith may be, now blesses the moment when the strife fomented by the pope and his creatures was put an end to by the law.*

A like good fortune awaits the people of France if the

* Rome naturally neglects no opportunity for sowing the seeds of religious animosity; thus the paritatic town of Clarus, which had been almost entirely destroyed by fire, was a short time since visited by a certain Father Theodosius, who at once demanded that the Catholic part of the population should build a new church, that they might isolate themselves from the Protestants, for there had formerly existed but one place of public worship, used alike by Catholics and Protestants. But the honest Clarians replied: "Our Protestant brethren are suffering from the same calamity as ourselves, and to mitigate it, we shall stand by each other in our common misfortune, and by our united efforts build up our united church, where we may together seek encouragement in our future hopes and endeavours." Such was the befitting reply, and the cunning emissary of sectarian discord retreated with his humiliation as his reward.

present emperor remains true to the path he has entered on, though such a triumph cannot be secured without a hard struggle, the French hierarchy, naturally devoted to Rome, possessing great influence over the lower classes. The famous "Four Articles of the Gallican Church," by which the management of local ecclesiastical affairs was in great part removed from the hands of the pope, are still proudly recalled by the lower ranks of the French clergy, the majority of whom would assuredly stand by the government if the latter were inclined to extend "indifference" for the pope into an abandonment of the papacy to its fate. But of far greater moment than the internal ecclesiastical policy of Switzerland, or France, even, is the position of Victor Emanuel, the new king of Italy, towards the pope, in his proposed adoption of Rome as his capital, and consequent annihilation for ever of the temporal power "of his apostolic majesty." What would be a pope without his earthly dominion? An unsubstantial shadow of the popes of yore! No marvel, then, Pius IX. defends his position to the last, and seeks by every means to evade the fatal chalice proffered to his lips; no marvel, also, if the Italians grow conscious that the pope and his cardinals have no longer any basis in Christendom, and acting on this discovery, prepare to do for the future without them.

Of late, the pope has lost not less ground in Germany than in Italy. Baden especially has issued victoriously from the struggle, Würtemberg followed in her steps, and then even Austria, the ancient bulwark of the papacy. A year since (1861), Baden, through the agi-

tations of the Romanists, seemed on the point of concluding a concordate with Rome, by which the power of the hierarchy might have been propped up for another hundred years, for treaties (when convenient) between governing powers are not readily got rid of; but the examination of this treaty had to be submitted to the Chamber, and the Chamber threw it out. The people's representatives knew well the results to follow if the ultra-Catholics got the upper hand; examples there were many, and sufficiently warning examples. Therefore, though Catholics formed the majority, they firmly asserted the right of the state to settle its religious affairs by its own laws, and thus effectually repulsed the pope and his requisitions. The government, acting in the spirit of the constitution, accepted the decision, and earned the gratitude of the whole country,—of all Germany indeed. The like crisis passed in much the same way in Würtemberg, though there the onus of the defence was borne by the Protestants. In Austria, on the contrary, the establishment of the new order of things, *i.e.*, the *de facto* abolition of the concordate, was inaugurated by the "Protestant Statute," the chief purport of which, as we have already had occasion to remark, was to invest Catholics and Protestants with the same legal rights, and which, proceeding as it did from a purely Catholic government, bears so much the greater moral import. Moreover, this resolution of the imperial government was not the result of any outward pressure, it was taken voluntarily, after calm deliberation,—on the ground of abstract justice and sound policy. Are not

these things signs of a great moral revolution, signs to which we can scarcely attach too much weight?

Humanity has taken a greater step in the onward march of progress, but the sublime goal it is its mission to attain lies still far distant. But to reach this goal, "enlightenment and mutual tolerance" are chiefly requisite, and the diligent "removal of all stumbling-blocks and obstacles" that encumber the road thither. Is not the papacy such a stumbling-block, or rather, the main one? Of this we hope the foregoing pages have already afforded sufficient proof; and if our hope is well founded, we can gladly acknowledge that the no little labour incidental to our studies from the Vatican has not been wholly in vain. Though others, we mean the partisans of Romanism "of the black faction," and they are not a few, will judge differently, and cry anathema against us, that we have dared rob the papacy of its aureole and exhibit it for what it is,—a human institution with human sins and shortcomings, human fallibility, and liability to the doom of all mortal things; but we conclude, nevertheless, with honest Blauer's verse, which serves as the motto of this our concluding book:

" Ir G'walt ist veracht,
Ir Kunst wird verlacht,
Ir Lügen nit g'acht,
G'schwächt ist ir Macht,
Recht ist's wie's Gott macht!"

THE END.

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